

**URBAN DYNAMICS IN HARYANA
IN MEDIEVAL INDIA
(FROM 14th TO MID - 18th CENTURY)**

*Thesis Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in fulfilment for the award of degree of*
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

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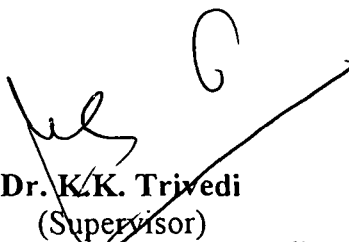
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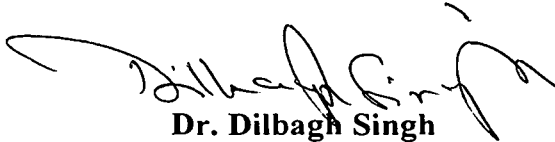


CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled 'Urban Dynamics in Haryana in Medieval India (From 14th to Mid-18th Century)', submitted by Ms. Adhya Bharti Saxena for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of this university is her original work and be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this university or any other university.


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*Dedicated to Parents, Baby jiji and Bhaiji
Who bestowed unconditional
love*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ain</i>	<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i>
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
<i>ASIR</i>	<i>Reports of Archaeological Survey of India</i>
Bib. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica
Br. Mus.	British Museum
<i>EFI</i>	<i>English Factories in India</i>
<i>EI (A & P)</i>	<i>Epigraphica Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplements)</i>
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphica Indica</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
<i>IAr</i>	<i>Indian Archaeology</i>
<i>IC</i>	<i>Islamic Culture</i>
<i>IESHR</i>	<i>Indian Economic and Social History Review</i>
<i>IHR</i>	<i>Indian Historical Review</i>
<i>IHRC</i>	<i>Indian Historical Record Commission</i>
IOL	India Office Library
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JUH</i>	<i>Journal of Urban History</i>

<i>JUPHS</i>	<i>Journal of U.P. Historical Society</i>
<i>PIHC</i>	<i>Proceedings of Indian History Congress</i>
<i>PASB</i>	<i>Proceedings of Punjab History Conference</i>
<i>PPHC</i>	<i>Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>SH</i>	<i>Studies in History</i>
UHAI	Urban History Association of India

GLOSSARY

<i>arazi</i>	measured area
<i>balda</i>	environs of the town
<i>banjaras</i>	land transporters using pack animals
<i>bigha</i>	a measure of land
<i>bigha-i-Ilahi</i>	a measure of land introduced by Akbar; 3/5 th of an acre
<i>biswa</i>	1/20 th part of <i>bigha</i>
<i>chakla</i>	administrative unit; group of <i>parganas</i> districts)
<i>chaudhari</i>	a village headman
<i>dastur / dastur al 'amal</i>	revenue rates
<i>faujdar</i>	incharge of law and order in an administrative division
<i>firman</i>	document carrying an imperial order
<i>gaz-i-Ilahi</i>	a measure of land introduced by Akbar
<i>iqta / iqtadar</i>	revenue assignment/assignee
<i>inam</i>	revenue free land
<i>haqq-i-sharb</i>	irrigation tax
<i>jagir / jagirdar</i>	revenue assignment/assignee
<i>jama / jamadami</i>	assessed revenue

<i>khud-kasht</i>	personally cultivated land; an individual landholding
<i>khut</i>	village headman
<i>kotwal</i>	incharge of fort/town
<i>madad-i-maash</i>	aid of subsistence; revenue free grants
<i>mahajan</i>	a money lender
<i>mahal</i>	lowest administrative unit; synonym of <i>pargana</i>
<i>mansab / dar</i>	rank in official hierarchy/ rank holder
<i>mauza</i>	a village
<i>muqaddam</i>	a village headman
<i>muqarrar-raqba</i>	settled area of a unit/division
<i>maqti / muqti</i>	an area commander under Delhi Sultanate
<i>nishan</i>	document of Mughal times
<i>pahi kasht</i>	one who cultivated land in another <i>zamindar's</i> jurisdiction
<i>pargana</i>	administrative unit/district
<i>qafila</i>	a caravan
<i>qanungo</i>	a middle-level local revenue official
<i>qasba</i>	a small town
<i>qazi</i>	a local judicial officer
<i>qiladar</i>	a castellan
<i>rahadari</i>	transit duty
<i>sadr-us-sudur</i>	incharge of central endowment department

<i>sarai</i>	a rest house
<i>sarkar</i>	a middle-level administrative/fiscal unit
<i>sarraf</i>	a money changer
<i>sawar</i>	a horseman; cavalry rank
<i>shahar</i>	a large town/ city
<i>shiq / shiqqdar</i>	an administrative unit, larger than <i>iqta</i>
<i>suba</i>	a province
<i>subedar</i>	incharge of a province
<i>suyurghal</i>	a state grant for life time or in perpetuity; same as <i>madad-i-maash</i> , loan for improvement of agriculture
<i>tahsil</i>	an administrative or fiscal division
<i>tanda</i>	camp of land transporters (<i>banjaras</i>)
<i>wazifa</i>	a pension; stipend
<i>zabt</i>	standard crop rate per unit area
<i>zamindar</i>	a local potentate
<i>zamin-i-paimuda</i>	measured land; settled area of a unit division
<i>zat</i>	personal rank in <i>mansabdari</i> system
<i>zortalab (zamindar)</i>	a recalcitrant (potentate)

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Interest in economic and social history has inspired me to take up the study of human settlements. These settlements have been recorded as villages and towns, and have remained the focus of scholarly attention among the social scientists. The present study deals with the urban settlements in particular which are identified as *qasbas* and *shahars* in medieval Indian context. The early studies establish these urban settlements either as military camps or administrative headquarters. Thus, this labels them with parasitic tendencies, instead of generative characteristics.¹ The early perceptions were however, not considered satisfactory, as they indicated only one side of the coin. If one observes and analyses the historical information, a different picture emerges. Attempts in this direction have been made for the last few decades. These attempts clearly establish the proliferation of urban settlements of all sizes—small, medium and large, which could evolve with considerable amount of dwellers on the one hand and their varied linkages: socio-economic, politico-cultural and horizontal-vertical on the other hand.

¹ For parasitic tendencies and generative characteristics of urban settlements, see B.F.Hoselitz, 'Generative and Parasitic Cities', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, volume iii, 1954-55, pp. 278-94. Also see E.A.Wrigley, 'Parasite or Stimulus: The Town in a Pre-industrial Economy', *Towns in Societies, Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, Philip Abrams and E.A. Wrigley, (eds.), London, 1978, pp. 295-310.

The study of urban settlements falls in the arena of urban history, an emerging discipline with interdisciplinary approach.² It needs specific methodology, sharp scrutiny of historical information and careful inferences.³ In order to understand urban history⁴ in the proper sense the words of S.C. Misra are helpful:

...it is the study of urbanization, of the expansion of urban centres in the span of time, the factors which promote and retard such growth and the ecology which towns generates in several related dimensions: in the natural environment, in the economic system, in political apparatus, in societal network and even in the mind of men living in towns.

This definition of urban history actually suggests the approach for studying of urban settlements in totality — their emerging pattern, existence, dependence, structural and functional behaviour.

Broadly following the above approach, an attempt has been made in this thesis to emphasize on the study of urban settlements in relation to the

² S.C.Misra, 'Urban History in India : Possibilities and Perspectives', *The City in Indian History : Urban Demography, Society and Politics*, (ed.), Indu Banga, Delhi, 1994, p.1. Also see Philip Abrams, 'Towns and Economic Growth : Some Theories and Problems', *Towns and Societies , Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, (eds.), Philip Abrams and E.A.Wrigley, London, 1978, pp. 9-34.

³ See Howard Spodek, 'Study of the History of Urbanisation in India', *Journal of Urban History (JUH)*, May, 1980, pp. 251-95; 'Beyond Rorschach Tests: Palimpsests and Nodes, Conflicts and Consciousness in South Asian Urban Theory', Howard Spodek and D.M.Srinivasan, (eds.) , *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia : The Shaping of Cities from Pre-historic to Pre-colonial Times*, Washington, pp. 254-67; R.Champaklakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*, Delhi, 1996, pp. 1-23.

⁴ S.C.Misra , 'Urban History in India : Possibilities and Perspectives', *The City in Indian History* , p.1.

countryside (*mauza*),⁵ and not to merely treat urban (*qasbas* and *shahars*) and rural settlements as two separate entities. These *qasbas*, *shahars* and *mauza* receive sustenance from each other. Therefore, their prosperity becomes contingent upon the extent and nature of mutual co-operation. Precisely, the approach directs attention towards the rural-urban interaction. This approach has been earlier emphasized by Satish Chandra, S.C.Misra and J.S.Grewal in their articles — 'Some Aspects of Urbanisation in Medieval India', 'Urban History in India: Possibilities and Perspectives' and 'Historical Writing on Urbanization in Medieval India', respectively. Satish Chandra⁶ has cautioned the scholars not to ignore the role of agriculture while studying the urban settlements. He also emphasise that the urban settlements should be looked at, from the regional point of view and not from the independent perspective and the point of focus should not be only large urban settlements, but also the medium and small size settlements.

The other significant aspect associated with the study of settlements is their relation with the region, whether man-made (administrative, economic, social and linguistic) or natural. The eminence of regional study and study of

⁵ See Indu Banga, 'Rural-Urban Interaction: Upper Bari Doab', paper presented at Seminar on Urbanisation in Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab (Pakistan), Chandigarh, 1997, pp. 1-2 (cyclostyle copy).

⁶ Satish Chandra, 'Some Aspects of Urbanisation in Medieval India', *The City in Indian History*, p. 82.

settlements, particularly the small settlements (*qasba*) is obvious from the following words⁷:

...another point relates to small towns and their study on regional basis. Quite obviously, the pattern of small towns would differ from region to region and also from area to area. The growth of *qasbas* in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is emphasized. Moreover, whereas in the Sultanate period a *qasba* was a village with a fort; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a *qasba* was a village with a market. So the entire concept of the *qasba* changed during the period. How and why we do not know. Regarding the distribution of the *qasbas* distance wise, the study of communication network is very useful in this process. But we also know that the distribution of towns in their special dimensions varied considerably from area to area. We know that through out the medieval period, there was a maximum distance with the travellers, who used horses or oxen. Within a distance from ten to twelve miles, there had to be a place where they could stay. This meant a *sarai* or a substantial village, or a *qasba* or some such place. In many cases, the *sarais* were either located in the *qasba* or subsequently *qasba* developed around them...’.

Similarly, in times of prosperity the *qasbas* in the region developed into *shahars* depending upon the significance of the sub-region of the region. The eminence of the region and settlements has been strongly emphasized

⁷ *ibid.*, 85; also see Kusum Chopra, Atiya Habib Kidwai and Subhash Marcus, ‘Writing a Regional History of the Urbanization Process – The Case of Undivided Punjab’, paper presented at *Seminar on Urbanisation in Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab (Pakistan)*, Chanidarh, 1997, pp. 1-4 (cylostyte copy).

by S.C.Misra⁸ and J.S.Grewal⁹ in a different manner. While discussing the Ravinder Kumar's hypothesis¹⁰ of horizontal and vertical linkages, J.S. Grewal clearly stressed on the horizontal and vertical linkages,¹¹ in relation to the region. To him, the surrounding region of urban settlements was their hinterland. A town was linked with the nearby villages and also with other small towns in the neighbourhood.¹²

Regarding the rise of urban settlements some of our notions rest on the models of economic and urban growth. These models were put forward while discussing the issues of urban centres development in Europe.¹³ However, these do not find any space in case of medieval Indian settlements in present

⁸ S.C. Misra , 'Urban History in India : Possibilities and Perspectives', *The City in Indian History*, p. 5.

⁹ J.S.Grewal, 'Historical Writing on Urbanisation', *The City in Indian History*, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰ Ravinder Kumar, 'The Changing Structure of Colonial Society in Urban India' , *IHR*, v, nos. 1-2 , July 1978-Jan .1979, pp. 200-201.

¹¹ J.S. Grewal, 'Historical Writing on Urbanisation', *The City in Indian History*, pp.78-79.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Henrie Pirrene in his seminal work *Medieval Cities* postulated that the towns grow with the growth of trade, particularly long distance trade and secondly on the entire development of the society i.e., the growth of new social order. This was stated on the basis of division of labour between the towns and cities, industry or handicraft being concentrated largely in towns and the countryside merely supplying the raw material and food stuff. In this the element of agriculture production and its subsequent significance have been largely ignored. Therefore the factors that led to the growth of urban settlements in their environment need emphasis. See Henrie Pirrene, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, New York, 1956; *Medieval Cities: The Origin and Revival of Trade*, New York, 1956; Ira Lapidus, *Muslim cities in Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1967; Ira Lapidus, (ed.), *Middle Eastern Cities : A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, Berkley, 1969; Satish Chandra, 'Ferdinand Braudel on Towns', Occasional Papers, 12, UHAI , Amritsar and 'Some Aspects of Urbanization', *The City in Indian History*, Indu Banga , (ed.), Delhi, 1994.

researches, as the general acceptance regarding the dealt issue is that the rural-urban settlements remained interdependent and functional continuity between them was their chief characteristic. The role of countryside, thus, becomes seminal, particularly for small and medium size urban settlements. The countryside formed 'the service area for small and medium size urban settlements' and it also 'conditioned (their) ethos and determined their characteristics'.¹⁴

The Arabic and Persian literature and other indigenous and secondary sources mention terms like *qasba*, *balda*, *shahar* as inland urban settlements. These settlements remained the centre of activity in agrarian and non-agrarian arena, both separately and collectively. Mentioning the importance of urban settlements Abul Fazl recorded the following words:¹⁵

People that are attached to the world
Will collect in towns,
Without which there would be no progress.

Similarly, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* recorded some 120 big towns (*shahars*) and 3,200 townships (*qasbas*) each having under it from hundred to a thousand villages (*mauzas*).¹⁶

The scholars, who have worked in the field of urban history, have attempted to define these human settlements. One such attempt was made

¹⁴ Indu Banga, 'Rural-Urban Interaction : Upper Bari Doab', (cyclostyle copy), pp. 1-2.

¹⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari* , I, p.167 and (tr.), I, p.232.

¹⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* , I, II & III, (tr.), B.De, Bid.Ind., Calcutta, 1934, 1936 & 1939.

by H.K.Naqvi.¹⁷ To her, *mauzas* were the villages where '200 to 300 able bodied men stayed in close clusters'. The inhabitants of these settlements remained engaged primarily in agrarian activities but they were simultaneously also engaged in the activities like pottery, wood-work, iron-work, spinning, weaving and grocery for their sustenance. The production carried out by them was on small scale, satisfying the local consumer's needs with little exchange of goods through weekly or bi-weekly *bazaars* (markets). These activities brought one *mauza* in contact with other *mauza*, *qasba* and a *shahar*, respectively. Thus, it made craft activity and urban growth more dynamic.

Qasba can be understood in relation to *mauza*, as a larger unit, but smaller in size in comparison to *shahar*. It incorporated the rural environment as well as urban characteristics. The rural environment existed because of agrarian activities in its surroundings and at outer fringes. The urban characters were because of some administrative function, craft activity and commercial transactions within its precincts. As stated above, medieval India evidenced *qasba* proliferation due to several factors. Few of them had climatic and topographical suitability, water resources, arable land, natural potentialities, strategic location of the region, economic indispensability and spirit of inhabitants to continue with the network once established. The *qasba* played the role of shock absorbers for developed *mauzas* and

¹⁷ H.K.Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism Under The Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 77-78.

disintegrating *shahars* either in times of economic prosperity or decline. This argument gets support from the information available in *Baburnama*: '...another good thing in Hindostan is that it has unnumbered endless workmen of every sort'.¹⁸ The artisan's (skilled and unskilled) population definitely contributed to the process of expansion of *mauza* settlements into *gasba* settlements. The *gasbas* further accelerated the growth of economic transaction and mobility owing to their contacts with *shahar* within and outside the region.

Shahar composed of compact conglomerations of inhabitants within a de-limited area, with a central organism and trade and craft for productive activity. They flourished because of the variety of reasons administrative viability, commercial utility, sacred geography, manufacturing capacity and continuity of state patronage. The best suited examples can be seen in the following cases. Agra was the largest *shahar* during seventeenth century with an estimated population of 500,000-660,000, in the days of glory when it contained the court.¹⁹ Delhi was equal to Paris, which at that time was the largest city of Europe.²⁰ Similarly, Lahore in its hey days was 'one of the largest of whole universe and exceedeth Constantinople, even it was larger than Agra during late sixteenth and early seventeenth century', though it declined subsequently.²¹ In the same manner Multan played a significant

¹⁸ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 487.

¹⁹ Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 284-86.

²⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 240, 252 & 282.

²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 283-84.

role in the process of expansion and emergence of small towns during its hey days between thirteenth and fifteenth century and after that it lost its position vis-à-vis Lahore.²² The other big *shahars* during the medieval period were Burhanpur, Ahamdabad and Surat. The case of medium size settlements was slightly different from that of large ones. They remained the smaller replica of the former. They were sometimes fortified and their prominence remained contingent upon their location and exploitation of agrarian and non-agrarian resources.

The Haryana region selected for urban historical enquiry appears adequately suitable for the approach outlined above. It was located in the core provinces of the Mughal empire, the *suba* Agra and *suba* Delhi. It did not emerge as a separate region during the period of this study i.e., 14th to mid – 18th century. It was rather a creation of twentieth century and came into existence on November 1, 1966. The prior most impressions that come to the mind of an observer regarding the creation of Haryana region are political and linguistic and not geographic. Moreover, no conscious efforts were made by the medieval rulers to create such a territory. Instead, Haryana region saw the existence of three to four provinces during fourteenth century (i.e., Delhi, Sirsa, Hansi, and Mewat tract); eight *sarkars* since late sixteenth century under the Mughal emperors (i.e., Delhi, Rewari, Hissar-i-Firuza, Sirhind in Delhi *suba* and Tijara, Alwar, Narnaul, Sahar

²² H.K.Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Delhi*, pp. 129-31.

in Agra *suba*) till the second half of seventeenth century; Delhi, Rewari, Hissar-i-Firuz, Sirhind, Tijara, Narnaul in Delhi *suba* and Alwar and Sahar in Agra *suba* since second half of the seventeenth century and continued till the separate districts and princely states were carved out in the British period. Several of them, in the twentieth century, emerged as full fledged districts. In 1966 Haryana territory comprised seven districts which increased to nineteen in the present times. The region, throughout, saw a number of rural and urban settlements that played vital role in all the spheres. This was possible because of its location which provided it political vitality economic indispensability. Consequently, a social network also developed in span of time which provided it unique dynamism.

The region of Haryana, through the construction of its historical past in political terms, has been studied by few. However, no serious attempts on socio-economic issues is available. The premier writings on Haryana are by K.C.Yadav and H.A.Phadke. K.C.Yadav's *Haryana Ka Itihas*²³ is a general survey of medieval past, which has limitations as it doesn't reflect on the urban settlements of the region. The work by H.A.Phadke, *Haryana : Ancient and Medieval*²⁴ is good from the angle of usage of historical information, but again, it has limitations regarding the question of the pace of urbanisation in the region. It refers to urban settlements occasionally, but does not provide explanations to their emergence, growth, existence and subsequent decline.

²³ K.C.Yadav, *Haryana Ka Itihas* ,II, Delhi, 1981.

²⁴ H.A.Phadke, *Haryana : Ancient and Medieval*, Kurukshethra, Delhi 1990.

Few others-who have touched upon the region have expressed their views through research articles or work related to particular urban settlements. Thanesar/Kurukshetra is the only urban settlement studied intensely by V.N.Datta and H.A.Phadke in *History of Kurukshetra*²⁵ in medieval context. However, work by B.K.Muzatsar is equally important.²⁶ Subhash Parihar's work on epigraphy²⁷ and monuments²⁸ provides greater help to the scholars dealing with urbanisation. The significant aspect from the point of Haryana's historiography is *Hissar-i-Firuz*²⁹ by M.Shookohy and N.H.Shookohy. This study deals with town-planning, architecture of the medium size urban settlements – Hansi, Hissar, Fatahabad, Tosham and Barwala. None of the above mentioned works help us to understand in totality the pace of urbanization, urban settlements in the region and dynamics in their inter-relationship. However, they are successful establishing the fact that Haryana region played vital role throughout the period of study. It was during the medieval period that significant changes occurred in relation to the ancient period : more land was brought under cultivation, more administrative units were carved out and the trade transactions became voluminous. These transformations were not prominent in the thirteenth century. They got

²⁵ V.N.Datta and H.A.Phadke, *History of Kurukshetra*, Delhi, 1992.

²⁶ B.K.Muzatsar, *Kurukshetra Ek Sanskritik Parichya*, (Hindi), Delhi, 1965 and *Kurukshetra : Political and Cultural History*, Delhi, 1978.

²⁷ Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions : In the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, Delhi, 1990.

²⁸ Subhash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments of Punjab and Haryana*, Delhi, 1988.

²⁹ M.H.Shookohy and N.H.Shookohy, *Hissar-i-Firuz*, Delhi, 1985.

intensified since mid-fourteenth century largely owing to the irrigation facilities developed by Firuz Shah Tughlaq. This issue has been up by the scholars like W.H. Moreland and Irfan Habib while discussing the agrarian conditions in the Mughal empire. Later, the scholars, whether working on the region or on north India as a whole, did not leave it untouched. Few years back an article by Abha Singh, 'Irrigating Haryana : The Pre-Modern History of Western Yamuna Canal', reiterated the agricultural significance of the Haryana region. This very article inspired me to take up this region in order to understand the rural-urban interaction and their inter-relationship. Due to nascent irrigation facilities in mid-fourteenth century, new settlements emerged which took the shape of administrative headquarters, economic and cultural centres. The particular mention is made to Hissar-i-Firuz and Fatahabad which existed as medium size urban settlements and to the *qasbas* like Jind, Dhatart, Safedon, etc., in its surroundings. Moreover, arable land was procured which further intensified the economic indispensability of the region. The growing potentiality of the region kept it in the limelight in relation to north India. Throughout medieval period it played a vital role in the economic arena. Yet, it did not emerge fully as a non- agrarian sector, as was the case of *suba* Gujarat, *suba* Bengal or *suba* Malwa in the Mughal empire.

The study entitled '**Urban Dynamics in Haryana, 14th to mid-18th Century**', attempts to look at rural-urban interaction through the understanding of the region in the first instance followed by the assessment

of agrarian potentialities and non-agrarian indispensabilities. This, in turn, is succeeded by a study of the emergence and growth pattern of various urban settlements of the region. Thereafter, an attempt is made to trace the social components which played a vital role in the rural-urban interaction of the region.

The first chapter constructs the territorial limits of the region in contemporary times. It is relevant to mention that the Haryana region is a recent phenomenon. It is for the sake of convenience that the present Haryana territory is taken into consideration. The territorial limits of contemporary provinces and modern Haryana territory are together imposed on **Map I**, which clearly gives the identity of the Haryana region in terms of historical geography and administration. It also explores the landscape, water resources, flora, fauna, mineral wealth and nature of population, which helps in establishing whether the region is nature-made or man-made. Finally, it prepares the base to look at the factors responsible for emergence, growth and existence of settlement in the region.

The second chapter assesses the agrarian potential through the comparison of the extent of cultivation, prevalent prices and revenue collected in the region at various points of time during the study period. For pre-*Ain-i-Akbari* period, it is difficult to give the exact percentage for these because of the paucity of quantitative data but the comparison of *Ain's arazi* and the map area of the region gives the percentage of the extent of

cultivation in late sixteenth century. The comparison of pre-*Ain* and post-*Ain* period establishes the shifts that took place in the region in the extent of cultivation, price and revenue. This has been computed by indexing the information for the two periods. The result of calculations clearly establish the region as economically prosperous zone. The assessment of agrarian potential also establishes the reasons responsible for emergence of *qasba* and *shahar* on one hand and the interaction with rural settlements in the process of agrarian activity on the other. The trade in agricultural produce further throws light on their enhanced dynamism which played a significant role in the growth of region in totality.

Third chapter attempts to explore the non-agrarian indispensability through assessment of natural resources their usage and transactions in their products. The region had copper mines and sal-ammoniac pits which enhanced its economic significance not only for the region but for elsewhere too. The building construction activity, craft production and trade activity further strengthened the regions' position. The major routes which traversed the region provided excess to other parts of the sub-continent and the minor routes (secondary and tertiary) linked the region internally to the major routes that provided stimulus to the growth of settlements (both *qasbas* and *shahars*). The settlements which excelled in any craft activity or identified themselves for any commodity or could develop trade potential established linkages to the larger settlements outside the region. Thus, the interaction on vertical and horizontal plain help us to evaluate the non-agrarian potential.

The chapter studies the markets, the *sarais* and their roles in enhancing the economic activities on one hand and existence of settlements on the other hand (see **Map II**).

The fourth chapter deals with the settlements located in the region. I have prepared the sketch of eminent urban settlements which excelled either due to their administrative position, sacredness, commodity or craft production or were located along the major frequented routes. These urban centers are not studied as separate entities, but are understood in relation to their surroundings. The region evidenced numerous *qasbas* and less number of *shahars* which were generally of medium size unlike Multan, Lahore, Delhi and Agra. Not all the *qasba* settlements are accounted separately but their location on the **Map IV** shows that how they were associated with the eminent urban settlements of the region. The study of these settlement traces their emergence, continuous existence, specific features (like town-planning, architecture, population etc.) decline and the shifts throughout the study period.

The fifth chapter – ‘Social Composition of the Region’ – attempts to understand the various social components of the region. The identification of these components is based on the occupations. Our sources do not provide information in detail on the nature of inhabitants, their life style, inter-relationship etc. Therefore, I have constructed it with the help of contemporary sources and secondary sources together through *Census*

Reports, Settlement Reports and Urdu texts of the later period. *Ain-i-Akbari* provides information on traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes of the region which also finds mention in the sources of the nineteenth century. I have compared the two and tried to provide a clear picture about their contribution in the growth of the region. The other occupational classes associating with non-agrarian activity are also sketched on the basis of contemporary and secondary sources. The element of speculation is sometimes evident. However, it is successful in providing an adequate picture of various individuals in the region engaged in heterogeneous occupations. The inhabitants studied from the region are agriculturists, the trading communities and artisans of heterogeneous occupations. The attempt on the estimates of the population is another effort in the understanding of the region.

Sources undertaken in the writing of this thesis are primarily well known published works in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Prakrit , Urdu, Hindi, and European languages. Both the text and the translations for these are brought in use frequently. Wherever the published material is not available, I have used the manuscripts and the transcript copies. The other sources are epigraphic and numismatic evidences, account of architectural remains, *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India, Settlement Reports, earliest Gazetteers and Census Reports.*

Among the significant Persian sources are *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *Masalik al absar fi mamalik al amsar* of al Umari, *Tarikh-i- Firuz Shahi* of Barani and Afif, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and *Zafarnama* which are frequently used for the information on the pre-Mughal period. These help us in the identification of the region and location of the settlements. For the Mughal period the sources frequently used are *Baburnama*, *Akbarnama*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Padshahnama* of Lahori and Waris and *Shahjahanama* of Inayat Khan, *Alamgirnama*, *Char Bahar* of Balkrishna Brahman, *Chahar Gulshan* and *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*. Beside these the *sanads*, *nishans* and *firman*s have been brought to use. The other language sources include *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, *Ardhakathanak* of Banarsidas Jain, *Kyam Khana Rasa* of Jan Kavi, English Factory records and travelers account.

CHAPTER I

<i>sarai</i>	a rest house
<i>sarkar</i>	a middle-level administrative/fiscal unit
<i>sarraf</i>	a money changer
<i>sawar</i>	a horseman; cavalry rank
<i>shahar</i>	a large town/ city
<i>shiq / shiqqdar</i>	an administrative unit, larger than <i>iqta</i>
<i>suba</i>	a province
<i>subedar</i>	incharge of a province
<i>suyurghal</i>	a state grant for life time or in perpetuity; same as <i>madad-i-maash</i> , loan for improvement of agriculture
<i>tahsil</i>	an administrative or fiscal division
<i>tanda</i>	camp of land transporters (<i>banjaras</i>)
<i>wazifa</i>	a pension; stipend
<i>zabt</i>	standard crop rate per unit area
<i>zamindar</i>	a local potentate
<i>zamin-i-paimuda</i>	measured land; settled area of a unit division
<i>zat</i>	personal rank in <i>mansabdari</i> system
<i>zortalab (zamindar)</i>	a recalcitrant (potentate)

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areas. It also mentions a region is sufficiently unified to have a consciousness of its customs and ideals and thus possesses a sense of identity distinct from rest of the country. However, for a student of history, a region is an area which is homogeneous in respect of some particular set of associated conditions — whether of land or of the people, such as agrarian or non-agrarian activities, commerce, distribution of population and the general sphere of influence of the urban centres within that region. The available historical information at our disposal in the case of Haryana suggests an understanding of the region in terms of both territorial reference and socio-cultural consciousness which emerged as a result of human efforts in span of time.

The present Haryana province was demarcated in September 1966 through a Government of India notification contained in *Panjab Re-organisation Bill*.⁴ It was carved out of Greater Panjab. The boundary of newly carved out territory was primarily based on linguistic basis. The local dialect is understood as *Haryanwi* which is an amalgamation of words from Hindi, Urdu and *Gurmukhi*.⁵ The province at that time had an area of approximately 44, 212 sq kms, comprising of seven districts, namely Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar, Jind (and Narwana out of Sangrur district), Mohindergarh and Gurgaon.⁶ The present Haryana province is surrounded by the Union Territory of Delhi in the east, Rajasthan in south-east, Punjab



⁴ Based on *The Panjab Boundary Commission Report*, May 31, 1966, para 136, p. 9. The Bill was passed by the Parliament on 10th September, 1966.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ 'Cultural Landscape - Delhi', *National Atlas of India*, vol. VIII, Calcutta, 1984, plate 275 on scale 1:1,000,000.

and Himachal Pradesh in the west and north-west and Uttar Pradesh in the north-east and east.

Though linguistically it has emerged as one region, yet from the geomorphological point of view this region is made of three different geographic units.⁷ These could be identified as the 'Haryana proper tract', the 'Kurukshetra tract' and the 'Bhattiana tract'. The region derived the present nomenclature because of 'Haryana proper tract'⁸ which experienced greenery throughout, whereas the rest of the sub-regions were exploited relatively less, due to their physical characteristics. In recent times the region is identified as 'Haryana' or 'Hari+Yana', all indicating towards the

⁷ Sukdev Singh Chib, *This Beautiful India: Haryana*, Delhi, 1977, p. 31.

⁸ *ibid.* ('Haryana proper tract, also known as *Jatlat/Jatalat* due to domination of Jats, covers the Yamuna belt in the east, the Ghaggar valley in the north-west, *bangar* tract in the west, south-west and south. The Kurukshetra tract lies in the north and covers stretches from *Ber* in the north to Thanesar and the 'Bhattiana sub-region' consisted of area lying between Fatahabad and Bhatnair (present Hanumangarh in Bikaner district Rajasthan) and also the dry area lying to the north-west of Ghaggar continuing up to the old course of river Sutlej). Also see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Delhi, (2nd ed.), 1999, pp. 14-16.

greenery aspect and prosperity in the region⁹ which it enjoyed in our study period with few interruptions.¹⁰ Mostly, during our period of study the entire region remained part of Mughal *suba* of Delhi for more than two centuries with minor adjustments.¹¹ Earlier parts of Haryana belonged to Sultanate 'provinces'¹² of Delhi, Hansi, Sirsuti/Sirsa and

⁹ A number of interpretations have been provided, to the term Haryana based on traditions and conjectures. However, the most accepted view indicates the greenery aspect. *The Panjab Boundary Commission Report*, p. 9; A Seton, *Foreign Political Consultations*, no.34, July 22, 1809; F. Wilson, *Panjab Notes and Queries*, no.547, I, p. 67, *IGI*, XIII, Oxford, 1908, p. 54. Similar views were expressed in medieval sources, occasionally. See Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.), Maj. Raverty, II, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 791 and 850; Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Wilayat Hussain, (ed.), Calcutta, 1891, p. 129. *Baburnama*, (tr.), A.S. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1922, reprint, 1989, p. 521; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), Jarrett and corrected and further annotated by J.N. Sarkar, II, Delhi, reprint, 1988, pp. 203-206, 284-86, 291-93 and 298-301. Also epigraphic evidence support this argument. For instance, 'Palam-Baoli Inscription', V.S. 1337, *EIM (Arabic and Persian Supplement)*, 1913-20, p. 35; 'Ajmer- Museum Chauhan Prashashti of mid-12th century', in Dashrath Sharma, *History of the Early Chauhan Dynasty*, Delhi, 1959, p. 59; 'The Delhi-Museum Inscription of 1328', *EI*, 1892, pp. 93-94.

¹⁰ The region remained uncultivated and scarcely inhabited during the times of political instability. For example, Mongol invasions especially in 1398, and also due to agrarian uprisings in post-1707 period.

¹¹ According to *Ain-i-Akbari* a portion of Haryana (south) formed the part of Agra *suba* which was transferred during the reign of Shahjahan (1665) to Delhi *suba*. It is confirmed by the list of *sarkars* contained in *Dastur-ul Amal-i-Alamgiri c.1659*, Br. Mus. Add. 6599 (Rotograph in the Seminar Library, Deptt. of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh) f.109b as cited in K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile of a Mughal Suba c.1580-c.1707*, Pune, 1998, pp. 22 and 44. Rai Chaturman Saxena, *Chahar Gulshan*, Ms. in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, See(tr.) in *India of Aurangzeb*, by J.N. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1925, p. 187. For transfer of Pinjaur to Delhi *suba* in 1707, see *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1980, Sheet 4A.

¹² Out of 23 provinces of the Tughlaq empire as mentioned in *Masalik al-absar fi Mamalik al-amsar of al Umari*, (tr.), Otto Spies, p. 16; I.H.Siddiqi & Ahmad, *A Fourteenth Century Account*, p.9. These three provinces constituted the Haryana of the present times. However the Mewat tract which is in south Haryana is not accounted. As also cited in I.H. Siddiqi, *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information on the Life and Conditions in the Sultanate of Delhi*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 105 & 112-13; Also see *Baburnama*, (tr.), p.521, where the region is identified as located in *sarkar* Sirhind, Hissar-Firuz, Delhi and Mewat.

Mewat.¹³ Out of these only Mughal sources provide information which help in relating present administrative divisions with earlier ones. This has been shown in table 1.1. For the preparation of this table I have followed the sheets of Survey Map of India, contained in *National Map of India* vol. VIII, plate no.275, which indicates the current boundaries and districts in states as for the year 1966 and also *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheets 4A, 6A and 8A for the location of *parganas* as stated in *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Table 1.1

Districts in Haryana
(November 1, 1966)

Ain's pargana
(c. 1595)

A. KURUKSHETRA TRACT

Ambala:

Ambala, Ghuram, Doral, Khizrabad, Sadhaura (all in *sarkar* Sirhind of Delhi *suba*).

Karnal:

Thanesar, Chahhata, Sultanpur Barah, Kaithal, Shahabad (all in *sarkar* Sirhind of Delhi *suba*).

¹³ Mewat or the land of Meos or Mewatis included in our study period, covers the present districts of Gurgaon (Haryana) and Alwar (Rajasthan). This tract has been referred as Kohpayah (hills of Mewat) by Minhaj in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.) Raverty, p. 850. It finds references in *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Barani, *Baburnama*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh* and *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*. For details see *Land Settlement Report of Gurgaon District*, 1882, pp. 28-30.

B. HARYANA PROPER TRACT

Hissar:	Tohana, Agroha, Hissar, Barwala, Hansi, Ahroni, Bhatu, Bharangi, Sewani, Sirsa, Fatahabad, Siron, Jamalpur, Tosham, Barwa (all in <i>sarkar</i> Hissar-Firuza of Delhi <i>suba</i>).
Jind:	Atkhera, Jind, Khanda, Shanzadah dihat, Dhatart, Tohana (all in <i>sarkar</i> Hissar-i-Firuza of Delhi <i>suba</i>).
Rohtak:	Gohana and Maham/Mahim (all in <i>sarkar</i> Hissar-i-Firuza of Delhi <i>suba</i>) Rohtak, Beri Dobladan, Jhajjar, Safedon, Dadri, Sonapat, Ganaur, Kharkaunda, Gharaunda, Mandhauti (all in <i>sarkar</i> Delhi of Delhi <i>suba</i>)
Karnal:	Karnal, Panipat and Islamabad Pakal (all in <i>sarkar</i> Delhi of Delhi <i>suba</i>).
Gurgaon:	Bawal, Pataudi, Bohara, Taoru, Rewari, Ghelot, Sohna, Kohana, (all in <i>sarkar</i> Rewari of Delhi <i>suba</i>). Indri, Tijara, Khanpur, Firuzpur, Umra, Umri, Ghasera, Kotla, Nagina, Ujina (all in <i>sarkar</i> Tijara of Agra <i>suba</i>).

Mohindergarh: Narhar, Narnaul, Khodana, Zerpur, Kanauda, Koharana, Kohirana and Chal Kalinah (all in *sarkar* Narnaul of Agra *suba*).

C. BHATTIANA TRACT

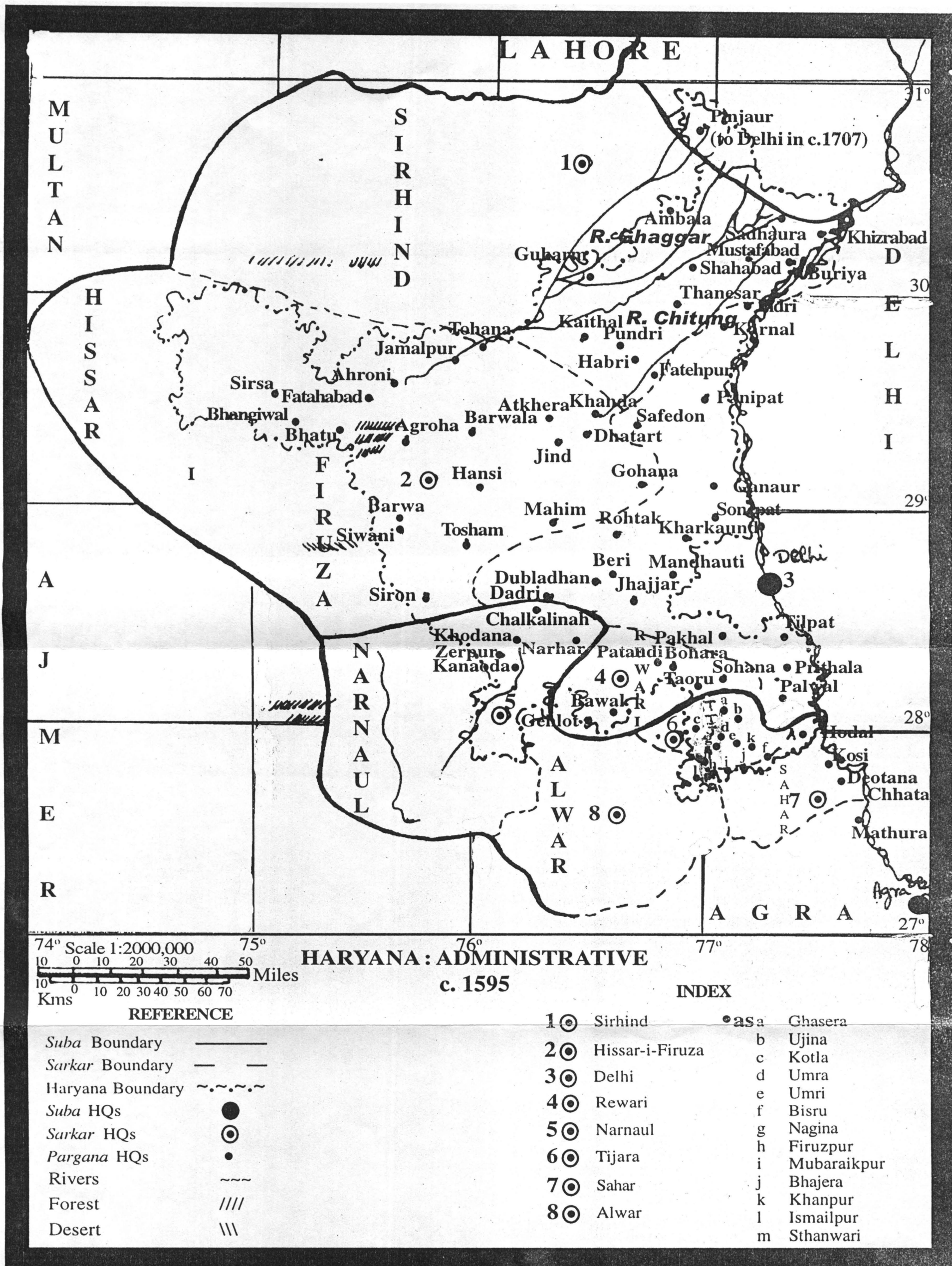
Hissar: Sirsa, Bhangiwal, Barwa and Bhatu, (all in *sarkar* Hissar - Firuza of Delhi *suba*)

Mohindergarh: Zerpur (in *sarkar* Narnaul of Agra *suba*)

Gurgaon: Mandawar, Harsauli, Jalalpur, Kirthal (all in *sarkar* Alwar of Agra *suba*).

Bhadauli and Hodal (all in *sarkar* Sahar of Agra *suba*).

(this is followed by the map showing Haryana : Administrative, c.1595)



It is evident from table 1.1 that Haryana region was located in Delhi and Agra *subas* and comprised of *sarkars* Delhi, Sirhind, Hissar-i-Firuz, Rewari, Narnaul, Tijara, Sahar and Alwar, demarcated in c.1580. It continued to remain so till the times of Mughal emperor Shahjahan when *sarkar* Narnaul and *sarkar* Tijara of *suba* Agra were transferred to Delhi for administrative, economic and strategic considerations.¹⁴ Some minor territorial adjustments are also recorded in later period. These apparently indicate administrative accommodation of lesser importance but they were certainly brought for economic reasons, for example Pinjaur was brought under Delhi in c.1707 as it produced roses from which, presumably, rose water was extracted.¹⁵ In another instance, the *sarkar* of Sahar was replaced by new *sarkar* Islamabad alias Mathura in Agra *Suba*. The new *sarkar* then constituted *sarkar* Sahar and the areas of Mathura. Mathura was the headquarters for this new intermediate administrative territory. This would have taken place in c.1656.¹⁶

The list of places figures in the 'Description of Twelve *Subas*' of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *dastur* headquarters seen along with other evidence

¹⁴ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p. 22.

¹⁵ Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, (ed.), Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 35; *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4A & 4B, p. 13.

¹⁶ *Dasturul-amal-i-Alamgiri* Br.Ms. Add .6599 as cited in K.K.Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 27-28 & 45.

provides a fair idea of *qasba*¹⁷ level settlements. Many of these place names find frequent mention in the sources of pre-Sultanate and Sultanate period (*Tarikh-i-Yamini*, *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, *al-Beruni's India*, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Barani and Afif, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, *Tughlaqnama*, *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Zafarnama*, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, etc); of Mughal times (*Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, *Baburnama*, *Akbarnama*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Padshahnama* of Lahori and Muhammad Waris, *Alamgirnama*, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh* of Sujan Rai, *Chahar Gulshan* of Rai Chaturman Saksena, *Char Bahar* of Balkrishan Brahaman) and many more works of later Mughal period (i.e. post-1707).

A fair understanding of the region would be possible through a survey of geomorphological aspects of the region and also by comparing it simultaneously with the available information of historical geography in our sources. The geographers in this regard had made an efforts and identified the present Haryana as Punjab plains-south. Punjab plains-south¹⁸ comprising Haryana and Delhi territories has been classified into four

¹⁷ *Qasba* cryptically defined in *Dastur-ul Albab fi Ilm-ul Hisab* of Haji Abdul Hamid Muharrir Ghaznavi as being 'unprotected', Ms. 1231, Rampur; cited in H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi*, 1206-1555, Delhi, 1986, pp. 77-78; H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, Delhi, 1968, p. 266. Also see B.R. Grover, 'Raqba-bandi Documents of Akbar's Time', *PIHRC*, XXXVI, part II, p. 59; M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1985, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ A.S. Jauhari, 'Panjab Plains in India', in R.L. Singh, (ed.), *A Regional Geography of India*, R. L. Singh, (ed.), Varanasi, 1971, pp. 121-22.

geographical sub-regions. In spite of dissimilarities, these sub-regions give an impression of one large unit and make it different in many ways from Punjab plains-north.¹⁹ A.S. Jauhari and his research associate have given following classifications.²⁰

(A) Sub-Mountainous belt/Ambala plains.

- (i) The Morni and Kaleshar hill tracts
- (ii) Ambala plain east
- (iii) Ambala plain west

(B) Eastern Haryana/Kurukshetra plains

- (i) The Yamuna *khadar*
- (ii) *Bagar* tract of Eastern Kurukshetra
- (iii) Western Kurukshetra

(C) Western Haryana

- (i) Lower Ghaggar and Naival river valleys of Sirsa region.
- (ii) *Bagar* tract and associated Sandy loam region.

(D) Southern Haryana

- (i) Jhajjar and northern Gurgaon-Mohindergarh tract
- (ii) Aravalli outliers and their associated gap lands and depressions.
- (iii) Delhi-metropolitan region
- (iv) Eastern Gurgaon plains
- (v) Yamuna *khadar* belt

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ *ibid.*

If one compares Jauhari's region with that of three sub-regions of Haryana based on historical geography the picture that emerges indicates part A and B constituting the Kurukshetra sub-region; parts of B-iii and parts of D-i, iii, iv & v constitute the Haryana proper tract and the Bhattiana sub-region comprising B-ii, C and D-ii. In this way, the two broad classifications indicate the entire region lying into two macro-regions of Spate and Learmonth.²¹ The Kurukshetra sub-region and A and B of Jauhari lie in the lower part of second macro-region which includes Shivaliks, sub-Shivaliks and Pedimonts²² and also the third macro-region i.e. upper part of Indo-Gangetic plains. The Haryana proper tract and C and part of D of Jauhari lies in Indo-Gangetic plains.²³ The Bhattiana or D of Jauhari is again part of Indo-Gangetic plains along with Arawalli outcrops.²⁴

The natural boundary as understood for our convenience is demarcated by the river Ghaggar (north-west);²⁵ sharply rising and straight Shivaliks which forms a narrow belt and is mostly sub-mountainous and lies in the north-east;²⁶ river Yamuna²⁷ in the east and the low broken hills

²¹ O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, London, 1967, p. 14. (The first macro region is Penninsular India, the second is the Himalayas and their associated with young fold mountains east and west and in between the two lie the third macro region i.e. the Indo-Gangetic plains).

²² *ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

²³ *ibid.*, pp. 42-43. Also see Arthur Geddes, 'The Alluvial Morphology of the Indo-Gangetic Plain : Its Mapping And Geographical Significance, *Transactions and Papers, Institute of British Geographers*, vol.28, 1960, pp. 253-54 and 261-62.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *Patiala State - Panjab State Gazetteers*, vol. XVII A, Lahore, 1909, pp. 4-9.

²⁶ D.N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, London, 1929, p. 19.

²⁷ Also called Jun/Jaun by al-Beruni, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, (tr.)E.Sachau, pp. 89, 94-95, 122 and 253; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), Rogers and Beveridge, p.4 and *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheets 4A, 4B, 6A and 6B.

continuing upto Delhi in the south-east²⁸ and the Thar desert in the south-west. With the exception of outer Shivaliks (i.e. Shivalik-Sirmur series) in the Ambala territory and the Arawallis in the Mewat tract (i.e. present Mohindergarh and Gurgaon districts), the entire region is broad level plain lying nearly on the watershed separating the two drainage system of rivers Sutlej and Yamuna. Most part of the region is of recent age and its surface has been built by shifting action of its wayward streams during the geological history of the earth and technically termed as undulating plains.²⁹ These plains slope from north-east to south and south-west. Thus, plains are remarkably flat in Ambala (except Shivaliks, sub-Shivaliks and Pedimonts), Kurukshetra, Jind, Sonapat and north-eastern part of Hissar. During the medieval period this region received water from the rivers Yamuna, Ghaggar and Chaitang. The fertile tracts which were then formed were mostly in the eastern region. Technically speaking the plain area of the region is subdivided into two parts: the *khadar* and the *bangar*. The *khadar* tract was formed by the floods during the rainy season due to newer alluvium brought by the streams of the river and rivulets.³⁰ The *khadar* tract is spread in Ambala region where its course is narrow and relatively broad in Karnal and Gurgaon. It narrows down further in the south. The *bangar* tract, the area which used to be flooded by streams in earlier times, now lies away from the flood course because of the shifts in the course of the river.³¹ At varying

²⁸ A.S. Jauhari, p. 85.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 87; Jasbir Singh, *An Agricultural Geography of Haryana: A Study in Spatio-Temporal Perspective*, Research Project of ICSSR, Delhi, 1986, pp. 55-56.

³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

³¹ *ibid.*

depths it contains carbonates of lime which occur in nodule form called as *kankar* in the Kurukshetra sub-region. This tract is also known as *nardak* tract. It is of higher elevation in comparison to *khadar* tract and is less productive. The area covered by it includes pockets in Thanesar, Karnal and Panipat.

The south of the plains is marked by the areas north to south by the watershed between the Indian ocean and the Bay of Bengal. To the east of this watershed is the *khadar* and on the west lies the *bangar*. These two divisions are common to the eastern part including Panipat, Karnal and Thanesar. However, to the west of *bangar* lies the *nardak* which is arid. This is again followed by *bangar* in the Kaithal *pargana* and resembles the uplands of Hansi and Rohtak. The other less fertile zone is the *chhachhra* tract in the Thanesar locality where *kankar* occurs in form of pan. Though the seasonal streams of Markanda, Chaitang and Rakshi watered it, yet it remained less productive and thinly inhabited.

The physiographical details of the discussed portion of Kurukshetra sub-region and a part of Haryana proper tract suggests that the few pockets of this sub-region lying in the east were fertile due to proximity to the rivers and their streams as these brought the newer aluvium annually during monsoons. Whereas the other pockets which could not receive water from the rivers and their streams or were located near the course of abandoned channels of Yamuna, Ghaggar or Chaitang were less productive. The old alluvium found in these portions was largely calcareous and contained, beside sand, clay, silt and heavy concentration of *kankar*. We do not know

about the ground water or sub-soil level for the period of study. Yet, references provided by Shams Siraj Afif, adequately establish that some portion of the discussed tract was arid.³² This is further supported by the account of Barani, who has stated that the land upto Barwala near Hansi town was frequented for hunting purposes and training of troops.³³ This discussed sub- region finds mention in the account of Ibn Batutta as well who traveled from Multan to Delhi.³⁴ The sub-region defined in the discussions of contemporaries is western and central pockets of Haryana region. This region with less productive pockets were brought under cultivation due to canal irrigation facilities. Barani, who evidenced only six years of Firuz Shah's reign, accounts for the efforts under the Tughlaq Sultan.³⁵ This is further confirmed by account of Afif.³⁶ Thus, the human efforts made both the *khadar* and the *bangar* tracts friendly for agricultural activity and raising of settlements. The high revenue figures given in *Baburnama*, or *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Chahar Gulshasn* strengthen our suppositions.³⁷

The south-west part of Haryana region is sand-swept and comparatively less productive. The southern part of Hissar locality and Bhiwani surroundings are characterised by shifting sand dunes with interruptions of either firmer or loamy bottoms at many places, i.e., on the

³² Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Wilayat Hussain (ed.) Calcutta, 1891, pp. 124-28 also see (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, vol.III, pp. 298-300.

³³ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 55-57.

³⁴ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), p. 23

³⁵ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 567-69.

³⁶ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 124-28,

³⁷ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 521; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 203-06, 284-86, 291-93, 298-301 and *Chahar Gulshan*, (tr.) *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 187

confines of Rohtak, Jind along with Patiala and in the *rohi* tract of Sirsa and hard aluvial clay in the Ghaggar Valley. In the south of *rohi* tract i.e., in the western extremity of Hissar is the *nalli* tract. This tract stretched from east to west covering Fatahabad and Sirsa surroundings.³⁸ The characteristic feature of this tract is again hard clay soil locally known as *sotar*. The *nalli* tract of Fatahabad surroundings consists of rich grazing lands for the cattles from the *bangar* region of the east, whereas the *nalli* tract of Sirsa consisted of poor grazing grounds. There is another sand-swept tract, locally called as *bagar* tract which stretches from the south and south-west of Sirsa along the western border of Hissar.³⁹ This stretch of land, infact, constituted the Bhattiana sub-region and it also finds testimony in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* sheets 4A and 4B.⁴⁰ The nature of the soil in this part is light sandy and shifting sand hills interspersed in places with firmer and in parts of loamy bottoms. These sand hills in local language are called as *tibba* and firmer valleys in between are termed as *tals*. In this area the water is scarce and brackish.⁴¹ Irrigation through wells was limited due to low water level except in the neighbourhood of Tosham hills and, therefore, special efforts in this direction were carried out through construction of canals during mid fourteenth century to supply water to the arid areas of the Haryana proper tract and Bhattiana sub-regions. Barani, Afif and Sirhindi and others have

³⁸ P.J. Fagan, *Hissar District - Panjab District Gazetteers*, II A, Lahore, 1916, pp. 3-4.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ It has been shown in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* that this region was rich in milch cows. For the Preparation of *ghee* and its export towards the imperial capitals see *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 60 and Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 438n.

⁴¹ A.S. Jauhari, p. 87.

written about semi- aridness and aridness in the parts of Haryana proper tract and Bhattiana respectively.⁴²

The north eastern part of the region is the sub-mountainous, comprising Shivalik- Sirmur series. According to geologists, they are of recent origin and formed in the Himalayan ranges by rivers and their streams deposited at the foot of the Himalayas.⁴³ The composition as well as the character of different strata of Shivaliks reveal rapid depositions by the rejuvenated Himalayan rivers which entered on a renewed phase of activity. Hence, the Shivaliks made, for most part, of barely coherent sand rocks with occasional clays, gravel and conglomerates.⁴⁴ The northern part of Ambala included Morni and Tipra hills. In this foothill zone, the hills located in south are lower, while northern parts constitute two ridges of much higher hills in the south-east to the north-west direction with many spurs branching in all directions. The southern slope of these foothills have been badly eroded by the fast flowing hill torrents; these are locally known as *choes* which also deposited lot of coarse sand at the foothills. The vegetation in this part is thick and dense.⁴⁵ This part provided timber during the Mughal

⁴² Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 567-69; Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 125 and *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (tr.), p. 130

⁴³ D.N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, p. 19, observes that these have been involved in the latest Himalayan systems of upheaval, by which they have been folded and elevated into their outmost foothill. The folding of Shivalik sediments has imparted to them high cliffs and some degrees of inculturation both of which are of course absent from the recent alluvial deposits of the plains.

⁴⁴ Spate and Learmonth, p. 35.

⁴⁵ Shireen Moosvi, *Man and Nature in Mughal Era*, Symposia Papers, 5, Delhi, 1983, p. 11.

period. Khizrabad emerged as a timber mart between *suba* Lahore and *suba* Delhi.⁴⁶ This part was also frequented for hunting purpose.⁴⁷

In contrast to the newly formed sub-mountainous tract of Ambala surroundings are the outlier Arawallis, the part of Delhi system lying in the southern Haryana. This Delhi system extends in the eastern Rajasthan from Delhi to Idar in constricted, sorely eroded bands in the centre of Arawali synclitorium.⁴⁸ Within this region the small ridges and hills consist of slate⁴⁹ and quartzite, brine wells in Sultanpur *mahal*⁵⁰ and sulphur springs at Sohana.⁵¹ The Arawallis found in Mohindergarh/Kanauada and Gurgaon *parganas* are low, isolated and arid hillocks. In Mohindergarh and Bhiwani *parganas*, these hills are like scattered rocky outcrops. They stand out distinctly against the level horizon above the sandy swelling waves. These low detached ranges also have few gaps which are formed due to depressions. They are located in south south-west to north north-west direction and are comparatively rich in water resources.⁵² These gaps provided safe routes between Delhi, Rajputana and Haryana proper tract since historical times.

⁴⁶ Munshi Malikzada, *Nigarnama-i Munshi*, Lucknow, 1882, p.146, (Kizrabad was a timber mart) as cited in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p. 13.

⁴⁷ *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 700-701; Bernier, *The Travels of Mughal Empire*, pp. 276-78 and Ralph Fitch in William Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, London, 1921, p. 17.

⁴⁸ A.S. Jauhari, p. 85.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 285; also see Alexandra Cunningham, "Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83", *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, ASIR XX, Varanasi, 1969, p.135 and *Gurgaon District Gazetteer - Panjab District Gazetteers*, vol. IV A, Lahore, 1910, pp.145-47.

⁵² B.S. Ojha and Jasbir Singh, *Resource Planning Atlas: South and South-West Haryana*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 47.

The slope of Arawalli series is so constructed in the geological history that they appear as four widely separated rows of isolated hill ranges.⁵³ The highest among the four is located in the west of Narnaul town.⁵⁴ The second in the east terminates at Delhi. In between these, the traces of two low-broken hillocks situated in the south and the west of Rewari town can still be traced. Similar type of hillocks are also situated in the north-east of Rewari, north-west of Nuh and eastern east of Firuzpur Jhirka.⁵⁵ As one moves from south to northern direction, the Arawalli loses identity in the alluvium of eastern Gurgaon plains. These gaps had been used by marching armies in historical past⁵⁶ and provided routes from Delhi towards Central India.

In this way, the study of landscape of Shivaliks and Arawallis reveals that the former rendered a slope towards south and south-west, whereas the later provided a gradient towards north. There are topographical differences between the northern and southern parts of Haryana region, which gave depressions between the Delhi ridge and Rohtak sandy ridge. This area consisted of detached hillocks. The old town of Rohtak is situated on this ridge and the lower portion of this ridge remained prone to seasonal floods.

The study of landscape further helps us to understand the drainage pattern. Haryana region is the land of abandoned channels. However, the only perennial river is Yamuna which flows through the eastern boundary. As its location suggests, it could not water the entire Haryana because of the

⁵³ A.S. Jauhari, p. 87.

⁵⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 192-93.

⁵⁵ A.S. Jauhari, p. 87.

⁵⁶ *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 700-701.

slopes, gradients, depressions, sand dunes, hillocks etc. It kept its course towards the east of Ganga-Yamuna Doab and mainly benefitted the left course of Yamuna region; however, the *parganas* along its right course also benefitted in a limited manner, particularly after monsoons. The distant region on its right course remained an arid country due to insufficient supply of water. The situation used to worsen during summers. For instance, according to *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, the travelers from Khurasan to Delhi had to pay 4 *Jitals* for one pitcher of water.⁵⁷ In these conditions, one can not think of intense and regular agricultural activity, unless some special efforts were carried out. Besides Yamuna the other rivers watered the region in a limited manner. They were mainly Ghaggar and Chaitang⁵⁸ flowing in the upper extremity of Haryana region (see **Map I**). They often look like streaks of water during summer and become formidable water bodies only during rainy season. The other streams of water which flowed in southern Haryana were Sahibi and Indori. The course traversed by them was such that they joined Yamuna drainage near Delhi.⁵⁹ These rivers flow towards north. The Sahibi is a rain fed river and has its source in the Mewat hills (i.e. *sarkar Alwar of suba Agra*, c.1595). It flows from Jaipur to Alwar near Manoharpur and Jitgarh in present Rajasthan province.⁶⁰ It is here that the streams of

⁵⁷ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 124.

⁵⁸ *Chachnama*, Daudpota (ed.), Hyderabad, 1939, p. 51, where it is referred as river of Hansi. Also see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963, p. 31, 2nd edn., 1999, p. 33 and Abha Singh, 'Irrigating Haryana: The Pre-Modern History of Western Yamuna Canal', p. 49.

⁵⁹ 'Fanchawes Settlement Report of Rohtak-1880', *Rohtak District-Panjab District Gazetteers*, vol.III A, Lahore, 1911, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 2.

Sahibi have some width. From there, it crosses Alwar in the north-west corner below Nimrana and Shajahanpur. It then enters the Rewari *pargana* near Kot Qasim Ali. Similarly, Indori rises near the old fort of Indor perched on the Mewat hills, west of Gurgaon in the town of Nuh. The course traversed by it is as follows:

...near Nuh it is divided into two branches; one main branch goes off north-west and joins the Sahibi led on the southern border of Rewari and while the collected waters of a number of feeders of the north branch pass approximately three miles west of Taoru, spread over the low lands round Bahorah and ultimately fall into Sahibi near Pataudi.⁶¹

The brief description of river-drainage reveals that in this way the Haryana region remained scantily watered during non-monsoon months at number of places.⁶² The region by and large emerges as semi-arid.⁶³

In all likelihood this was the region which needed improvement in agricultural facilities to make areas around the capital rich in agricultural production. Since Ganga - Yamuna Doab had excellent drainage system it is very likely that some canals were excavated in the areas covered by present Haryana. Firuz Shah's effort in this direction appeared to be a follow up action on much larger and noticeable scale.⁶⁴ He, therefore, decided to lay down the foundation of larger settlements (Fatahabad, Hissar-i-Firuz) and water the land through excavation of canals. He excavated the double canal

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶² *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4A & .6A

⁶³ See Chetan Singh, 'Well-irrigation methods in Medieval Panjab: The Persian Wheel Reconsidered', *IESHR*, 22, 1, 1985, p. 76.

⁶⁴ Barani *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 599-600; Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 124-25.

system in 1354 which derived water from Yamuna and forced water into Chaitang, a seasonal river flowing upto Hansi. The Chaitang once a tributary of Ghaggar and so ultimately of the dead river Hakra is mentioned as 'river of Hansi' in the *Chachnama*.⁶⁵ The chief motive behind the digging of canals was continuous supply of water to the new town, Hissar-i-Firuz. The *parganas* which benefitted most were Hissar, Hansi, Sirsa, Fatahabad, Jind, Dhatrat and Safedon.⁶⁶ This step helped the Haryana proper tract become fertile and also benefitted Bhattiana sub-region in a limited way. It is reported that revenue increased by about two lakh *tankas*.⁶⁷ Afif gives credit to these canals for the increasing affluence of *shiqq* Hissar-i-Firuz and that there were lush green fields and gardens all around and the region produced enormous amount of agricultural wealth.⁶⁸

After Firuz Shah's death next information relating to these canals come from Akbar's time when repair and cleaning of these canals was undertaken.⁶⁹ However, absence of evidence, for the intervening period, about the maintenance of these canals does not necessarily mean that these were neglected, or that of the improvements in agricultural sector following the digging of canals. In fact assignment of this particular sub-region to

⁶⁵ *Chachnama*, Daudpota(ed.), Hyderabad, 1939, p. 51.

⁶⁶ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 129; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (tr.), pp. 130.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁸ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128; (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, pp. 301-02.

⁶⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 353.

Humayun by Babur does show that income from these parts was not insignificant.⁷⁰

One can see further improvement in the re-excavation and renovation, during 1570-71,⁷¹ by Akbar's efforts, towards the potential of the region. According to the *sanad* of Akbar dated A.H. 978/1570-71 *bunds* were built, cuts were carved in order to distribute water equally in different *parganas*.⁷² This continued till the reign of Shahjahan. The canal earlier known as *Shekhu-ni* followed the course till Safedon and from there a new channel was excavated which traversed to Shahjahanabad (Delhi) and named as *Nahar-i-Bihisht*⁷³ which watered the villages and arable land on its route. The available information suggests that during medieval period the sufficient knowledge regarding the arid characteristics for Bhattiana and some parts of Haryana proper tract was known and special efforts were carried out from time to time to keep the region productive and populated. For instance, when water was not reaching beyond Safedon, the farmers of *chakla* Hissar-i-Firuza made a written complaint regarding the scarcity of water for agricultural purposes.⁷⁴ They requested through *memorandum* for the opening of the channels of Chaitang which watered the *parganas* of

⁷⁰ *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 465 & 521.

⁷¹ Lt. Yule, 'A Canal Act...', *JASB*, XV, 1846, pp. 216-218.

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ Abha Singh, "Irrigating Haryana...", pp. 55-57. For more details on the memorandum see Abha Singh, 'The *Char Bahar* of Balkrishna Brahman: A Hitherto Unknown Source of the mid-17th Century', *PIHC*, 54th session, 1993, pp. 216-222.

⁷⁴ Abha Singh, "Irrigating Haryana...", pp. 55-57. For more details on the memorandum see Abha Singh, 'The *Char Bahar* of Balkrishna Brahman: A Hitherto Unknown Source of the mid-17th Century', *PIHC*, 54th session, 1993, pp. 216-222.

Khanda, Dhatart, Jind, Hansi, Hissar etc. However, it is not clear whether positive steps were taken into this direction or not, but it is clear that this part of region definitely faced scarcity of water.

We have noticed that rivers located in the southern parts of Haryana were seasonal. These were, therefore, not suited to provide water to any canal system during non-monsoon months. For artificial irrigation in the region digging of wells, tanks, ponds, lakes were utilised. Some interest in the direction was also taken by the ruling class. A Persian inscription refers to the construction of a *haud* at Palwal. It was constructed in 1211 A.D. by Badr U'd din Sunqar, the officer incharge of the town.⁷⁵ Similarly, sufficiently large tank was excavated by Firuz Shah in the fort of Hissar-i-Firuz which partially discharged water in the ditch excavated around the fortification. It also used to overflow or discharge excess water.⁷⁶

From the above we can infer that the landscape of Haryana region was such that major parts of it required human efforts for its beneficial utilisation.

Flora and Fauna

The natural vegetation in the Kurukshetra sub-region consist of tropical forests and northern tropical thorny dry deciduous types. Besides the forests of Dipalpur-Sirsuti (Sirsa) tract and Badaon region in the Indo-Gangetic plains, the forests in Shivalik-Sirmur series had been popular

⁷⁵ *EIM*, 1911-12, (ed.), J. Horowitz, pp. 1-3.

⁷⁶ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 126.

among the Delhi Sultans and Mughal Emperors for hunting purposes.⁷⁷ Based on modern period information⁷⁸ the popular forests identified are of Kaleshwar and Morni. The Kaleshwar forests⁷⁹ consisted of dense wooded *jungle* with trees of *sal*, *baher*, *kachnar*, *ber*, *sizr*, *khair* etc. The Morni forests comprised of shrubs *sizr*, *seon*, *kachnar*, *jugam*, *amla*, *amaltas*, *bel*, *jamon*, *bahera* etc. Besides this, large patches of *dhak jungles* had also been noticed in parts of Jagadhri and Naraingarh *parganas*. The most common trees in the region include mango, mulberry, *ber*, *farash*, *shisham* and *dhak*. This part was then particularly rich in terms of mango groves which were a common sight near Kharar.⁸⁰ Irfan Habib in the *Atlas* has plotted the timber mart at Khizrabad and existence of rose plantation at Pinjaur for the Mughal period.⁸¹ Apparently Haryana forest produce had a demand in distant region as well. The types of forests and vegetation also suggests the existence of both wild and domestic animals. Among the wild ones were *cheetah*

⁷⁷ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 599-600; *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh* (tr.), Ranking, I, p. 324; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.) I, p. 207; *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 76; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 375-76. Also see Chetan Singh, 'Forests, Pastoralism and Agrarian Society in India', David Arnold and Ramchandra Guha (ed.), *Nature, Culture and Imperialism: Essays on Environmental History of South Asia*, Delhi, 1997, pp. 21-48.

⁷⁸ Wynyard and Melvill, pp. 84-85.

⁷⁹ (These forests are situated on the right bank of the river Yamuna near the head of Western Jamuna Canal), *ibid.*, p. 84.

⁸⁰ Reference to it are found in *Nigarnama-i-Munshi*, p. 150 and *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 557 as cited in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p.13.

⁸¹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4B and p. 13. Reference to these had also been made in *Nigarnama-i-Munshi*, p. 146 and *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 35 respectively.

(leopard), antelopes, wild ass, *nilgai*, deer etc.⁸² *Cheetah* was the most favourite of the imperial authorities for hunting game.⁸³

Coming downward to the Haryana proper sub-region the references available in medieval sources and *Settlement Reports* of the British period clearly suggests that the sub-region was having considerable vegetation. The sub-region was rich in shrubs and grasses. Wynyard and Melvill, observe in this regard '... since past, grasses were used for thatching , rope making and other household purposes, but their principal use lay in the binding of soil and prevent the damage by sand'.⁸⁴ The shrubs in this part consisted of *karia* and *jaljhund*, *kikar* and *babul*, trees of *shisham*, *mango*, *pipal*, *guler*, *bar*, *lasura*, *shinbal* and many more found in the Indo-Gangetic plains, which were used for well scrubs, centhrons, wheels of *arhatta*, bullock yokes, fire for cooking and religious ceremonies, building purposes and household objects. The leaves of trees especially of *dhak* were used as *pattal* (plate) and *buthad* (drinking cups at feast), for wrapping small purchases, fodder etc.

In a nut shell, one can conclude that though we do not have concrete historical account regarding usage of forest produce for our period, the trees, grasses and forest produce were in use in many ways by the local residents. The group of animals found in the region included black-buck, *nilgai*, *chikra*,

⁸² Bernier, *Travels of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 267-68, 364, 375-78. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4A & 4B; also see Shireen Moosvi, *Man and Nature in Mughal Era*, Map 2A and pp. 12-14.

⁸³ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 599-600; *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, (tr.) Ranking, I, p. 324; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), I, p. 207; *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 76 and Bernier, *Travels of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 375-76.

⁸⁴ Wynyard and Melvill, 'Settlement Report of Ambala District-1885' p. 5.

crocodiles, poisonous snakes, *cheetah*, antelopes, deer, monkeys etc. The *nardak* tract in the sub region remained famous for lion hunting among Timurids.⁸⁵

Proceeding towards the dry tract of Fatahabad-Sirsa-Bhadra in Bhattiana sub-region, we find references to the group of trees in the *Settlement Reports*. As this sub-region lies in the Dipalpur-Sirsuti tract, which remained a famous hunting ground during Sultanate period.⁸⁶ It was frequented for hunting purpose by the imperial authorities which suggests forests of the arid type, however, they were not as dense as that of Shivalik-Sirmur series.⁸⁷ The domesticated animals in this part included cow, goat, camel, sheep, etc. During sixteenth and seventeenth century the sub-region remained famous for breeding of milch-cows,⁸⁸ used as pastures and also attracted cattles from eastern Rajasthan. The *ghee* obtained was so good that it was consumed in large quantity in the imperial kitchen at Delhi as well as at Agra.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 700-701. (Babur while inflicting punishment on the Mundharis (Mohan Mundhar Rajputs) refer about the jungles in the *nardak* tract (i.e. West of Delhi), where he stayed almost for two months). Bernier, *The Travels of Mughal Empire*, pp. 276-78, 364, 375-78 and Ralph Fitch, in *Early Travels in India* (1583-1619), William Foster (ed.), London, 1921, p. 17.

⁸⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.) I, p. 207 and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), p. 98. Also see Divyabhanu Singh, *The End of a Trail: The Cheetah in India*, Delhi, 1996 (It accounts of the references given by European travelers like Ralph Fitch, William Hawkins, Thomas Roe etc., on the *Cheetah* population).

⁸⁷ Wynyard and Melvill, pp. 84-85.

⁸⁸ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B and p. 12. References are found in Balkrishna Brahman, Letters written by Jalai Hissari and Himself, Late Years of Shah Jahan and early years of Aurangzeb, Ms. Br. Mus., Add.16,859, f 33b and *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p.74.

⁸⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr.), I, p. 60.

The Arawalli tract in the south of Delhi is ill defined and mostly with scarce vegetation. The vegetation is of dry deciduous type. A few stunted trees and shrubs are seen on the hills, while in rainy season grass also springs up, which turns pale grey and dry during summer. This tract which remained famous has been recorded as Mewat tract⁹⁰ with its administrative headquarters in towns of Rewari, Narnaul, Sahar and Tijara. The trees traceable in the region include mango, *murelan*, *rahira*, *gugal*, *karil*, *hins*, *barwas* etc. The hilly tract and the vegetation often created problems for the rulers of Delhi. For instance, Balban (1266-80) towards the end of the first year of his reign proceeded against the people of the region referred as the Mewatis⁹¹ by clearing these parts of *jungles* and establishing military posts (for example Afghanpura) at various points. This exercise later benefited in reclaiming arable land and emergence of settlements, both *mauzas* and *qasbas*.

Minerals

Haryana, however, does not have much mineral wealth. The Kurukshetra sub-region, a sub-mountainous tract, is rich in *kankar*, sandstone and clay, which in all likelihood was used in the construction of fortress and buildings, manufacture of clay artifacts for household purpose, bricks both baked and un-baked. This range also contained shale with bands of impure limestone in Morni hills which might had been used for building construction at inter-regional level. The Haryana proper tract and the

⁹⁰ *The Embassy of Thomas Roe* (1615-19), William Foster (ed.), London, 1926, p. 492.

⁹¹ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp.55-57; (tr.) Elloit and Dowson, *History of India...*, III, pp. 103-05; S.A.A.Rizvi, *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat*, Aligarh, 1956, pp.163-64.

Bhattiana had pockets of similar characteristics and, therefore, it is a possibility that the local material was used for the above mentioned purpose. The existence of buildings in the settlements supports this. These buildings include fortress, tombs, *madarsas*, temples, palatial buildings, houses, etc.

We do find reference to *nausadar* (salt-petre) in the Haryana proper tract. The place is Thanesar where it was extracted. Our sources do not mention the extraction process for this region in particular, but one can presume that the method of manufacture was same as adopted in other regions.⁹² *Ain-i-Akbari* records the existence of copper mines at Kot Putli in south Haryana region. However, its surroundings too have these mines. Particularly at Bairat, Singhana and Udaipur which do not lie in the Haryana territory. Yet, it can be presumed that they were exploited for the benefit of the region. Copper mining was carried out primarily for two purposes - military and minting. Beside these, copper mines had also been reported in the range of Arawallis) east of Firuzpur Jhirka on way to Rewari in Southern Haryana.⁹³ During the times of Akbar, Hissar-Firuz minted copper coins, later joined by Narnaul which minted both copper and Silver coins.⁹⁴ The existence of copper mines along southern boundaries of Haryana and its surroundings suggests explanation why *sarkar* Narnaul and *sarkar* Tijara were transferred from Agra *suba* to *suba* Delhi in the seventeenth

⁹² Peter Mundy, *Travels in India*, II, pp. 76-77; Pelsaert, (tr,) *Jahangirs India*, p. 46-67.

⁹³ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4B and 6B and p. 12. Also see *Gurgaon District Gazetteer - Panjab District Gazetteers*, vol. IVa, Lahore, 1911, p. 41.

⁹⁴ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4B & 6B, p. 13.

century. The obvious reason lies in strategic and economic significance which later extended to administrative convenience. This part finds mention of sulphur at Sohana in form of sulphur springs.⁹⁵ According to *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh* of Badaoni, these hot sulphurous springs issued out from the foot of Kohpaya/Mewat hills towards the eastern side of town of Sohana remained in use.⁹⁶ However, what kind of usage it was put to, is nowhere mentioned. According to nineteenth century records, these springs possessed medicinal qualities and since then they had been used by the people.⁹⁷

The entire Haryana region was inhabited by the people of various castes. The pre-Mughal sources speak of Meos, Jats, Gujars, Brahmans, Ahirs and Muslim population. *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions the following as *zamindars* against *parganas* now forming part of Haryana:⁹⁸

Traditional Cultivating Castes	Non-cultivating Castes
Ahir, Gujar, Jat, Meo, Gadi, Dhuna, Dadbalsa, Thatar, Khatidar, etc.	Afghan, Rajputs, Bakkal, Lohani, Multani, Khanzadah of Mewat, Kyam Khanis, Malikzadah, Brahman, Sheikhzadah, Musalman Sayyied, Ranghar, Taga, etc.

Most of these castes mentioned were primarily engaged in agrarian activity directly or indirectly during study period. They were the potent

⁹⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 285.

⁹⁶ *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, (tr.), III, pp. 163-64.

⁹⁷ These qualities were first tested in 1863 and were found true. See *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, pp. 145-46.

⁹⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 202-06, 291-93 and 298-301.

factors in the rural-urban interaction of the region. However, the dwellers of other heterogeneous occupations provided dynamism to various activities in the regions' economy.

We can conclude that the present Haryana province, though not very rich in mineral wealth, was placed in such a region that it received attention of the ruling authorities after Delhi emerged as the strong political centre of the north. The results of such endeavours are apparent in the following pages.

CHAPTER II

AGRARIAN ECONOMY OF THE REGION

Settlements in a region emerge and expatiate in several related dimensions. These dimensions are mainly comprised of two components, the first is that of natural environment of the region and the second is that of the economic potential of the region in time and space. However, the settlements receive support in growth through political apparatus and societal network. These altogether in longer run contribute in the formation of the economic potentiality of the region.

The role of natural environment is vital in setting the background, to the making of the region. Nevertheless, the other factors of growth are equally significant and are also responsible for the existence of these settlements, whether rural or urban. One is often confronted with the contrast of rural and urban, though now the agreement is that these are the two points on the continuum.¹ This continuum is more visible in case of medieval north India. The first point of the continuum flourished solely out of agrarian activities and the other due to non-agrarian activities like craft production, trade and commerce. These points on the continuum are termed as *mauza* (village) and *shahar* (town/city); between these two were located the *qasbah* / *qasba* (small towns). These *qasbas* had been the larger versions of the villages in the developing economy. These had incorporated part of rural environment in the form of some cultivation on their outer

¹ S.C. Misra, 'Urban History in India: Possibilities and Perspectives', *The City in Indian History*, (ed.) Indu Banga, Delhi, 1994 (reprint), p. 2.

fringes and part of urban character by way of some administrative, non-agricultural production and commercial activities within the precincts. They can be understood as hybrid of the two.

Indian economy had been primarily agrarian and it was the surplus out of the agrarian sector that sustained these settlements and medieval state itself. The urban settlements both *qasba* and *shahar* in north India further continued with their existence owing to the support of the rural settlements. The villages which were the habitats of able bodied men staying in close clusters carried out primarily agrarian activities and other subsidiary works like pottery, grocery, wood-work, iron-work, spinning, weaving etc. These activities fulfilled the local consumers' needs with little exchange of goods through weekly and bi-weekly *bazaars* / markets. In this process a village came in contact with other villages and also with *qasbas* and *shahrs* in a micro-region. The micro-regions were similarly linked with the macro-region and other parts of the subcontinent. These altogether contributed to the expansion of the economy.

It is obvious that expansion of economy was possible either through vertical or horizontal mobility in agrarian and non-agrarian transactions at the level of extremities of the continuum bar. But the greatest impetus was provided by the *qasbas* / small towns. They played the role of catalyst and shock absorbers in the expansion of the economy of the region.

Haryana region during the study period evidenced *qasba* proliferation because of several reasons: climatic and topographical suitability, natural

potentialities, spirit of inhabitants to continue with the network once established and special interests of the state. However, they heavily relied for basic necessities on agricultural production. The agricultural production became the vital link in their growth and existence. This growth is evident since 13th century in limited manner and extensively since mid-fourteenth century. Reclamation of forestland, improvement in yield, change in crop-pattern, increase in horticultural activities etc. contributed in agricultural expansion in the region.

In this chapter, an attempt is being made to understand the importance of agricultural production in the growth of small and large towns and the process involved in rural-urban interaction. The entire discussion is based on the non-acceptance of the myth of self-sufficiency of villages as well as towns in their independent position.

It is an established fact that out of the two main sectors of economy, the medieval Indian rulers continued to rely heavily on the revenue generated by agricultural produce. For extraction of surplus generated in this sector the state introduced the *iqtadari* and *jagirdari* systems.² The importance of Haryana region was accounted for two main reasons : firstly it being in the immediate vicinity of Delhi, the most powerful political centre since the thirteenth century; secondly the region was frequented by politico-

² W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 216-23 &c ; Tapan Ray Chaudhari and Irfan Habib, (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, Delhi, 1982, pp. 68-76, 241-47; I.H. Siddiqi, 'Evolution of Vilayat, the Shiqq and the Sarkars', *Medieval India Quarterly*, V, no.1, Aligarh, 1963; R.P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Mughal Administration*, Allahabad, 1959.

military personnels, merchants and pilgrims which worked as a catalyst throughout the study period. The account, description and statistical data that could provide information about the potential of the agrarian sector had received attention of scholars repeatedly. The chief parameters to understand the vitality of the agrarian sector are extent of cultivation, productivity of soil, crop-pattern, revenue assessment, price movement and trade in agricultural products.

At the very outset it becomes pertinent to know the extent of cultivation right from the period of our study for Haryana region. However, for the entire Sultanate period and years preceding it,³ very sketchy information is available to us. It is in no way helpful in attempting estimates about the extent of cultivation or crop-pattern. Yet, on the basis of the account of Thakur Pheru, which covers part of Haryana region,⁴ it emerges that a variety of crops were grown there during the 13th century. These included both commercial and food crops of superior and coarse varieties.⁵ However, when we proceed to the accounts of Barani and Afif, in the context of construction of canals by Firuz Shah, it emerges that the sub-region identified through Thakur Pheru's description was not so promising in its entirety. In describing the improvements and benefits expected after better availability of water through the canals, both appear to be full of hopes and expectations that sugar-cane, wheat, gram and many more crops

³ Dashrath Sharma, *The History of Early Chauhan Dynasty*, p. 333.

⁴ The region mentioned by Thakur Pheru is Delhi-Hansi -Narhad area which corresponds with the 'Haryana proper tract', parts of south Haryana (Narnaul sub - region) - as stated in Chapter-I, *ibid*, (appendix), p. 355.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 355-56.

will be grown in future extensively.⁶ Afif, infact, is categorical when he writes that this region could produce only *kharif* (spring harvest) for want of irrigation facilities,⁷ meaning thereby that fertility of the soil was low and water was available only during the monsoons. If this in turn, means comparatively low surplus generation then one is bound to think that what was the reason for the assignment of this area to loyal elements in the ruling elite. As an example we can take Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz al Muzzi *Hazarmardah* who remained *muqti* of Palwal from 1228-36 and similarly Nusarat-ud-din Taisi Muzzi as *muqti* of Hansi.⁸

Barani and Afif were, in all likelihood, making their observations for expected improvements in agriculture by highlighting the contrast more to please their current ruler, Firuz Shah. For Thakur Pheru, Ibn Batutta, al-

⁶ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 567-71, (tr.) Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 27-29.

⁷ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128; (tr.), Rizvi *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74; also see W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Delhi, 1968, p. 60.

⁸ For details see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 233-35, 274-76, 281-324 and (tr.) Major Raverty, pp. 628, 634, 664, 674, 681, 687-88, 693-95, 699, 703, 732, 767, 798, 807, 826-27, 831-32, 837, 850-55; also see S.B.P. Nigam, *Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi*, appendix, p. 194; Rizvi, *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat*, Aligarh, 1955 pp. 163-64. The probable answer to this query is the region's significance was immediately realized by the Delhi rulers. The reason can be mainly political and strategic, which acquired economic shape in course of time. It is pertinent to remember that the strategic location of the region also did play a significant role. For these reasons, the rulers since Iltutmish (1210-36) started assigning the territories to their loyal officers including the royal prince. For example Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz al Muzzi *Hazarmardah* (of Rumi tribe) remained as *muqti* of Palwal (1228-36); Nasir-ud-din Aitmur Bahqi as *muqti* of Siwalik; Saif-ud-din Aibak as *muqti* of Narnaul; Malik Saif-ud-din Aibak of Kitai tribe as *muqti* of Sirsa (1227-28); Nusarat-ud-din Taisi Muzzi as *muqti* of Hansi (1227-28); Taj-ud-din Sanjar Qutlugh as *muqti* of Sirsa (1238); Araqali Dadbak Saif-ud-din Shamsi Azmi as *muqti* of Palwal (1246); Ulugh Khan-i-Balban as incharge of *iqta* of Rewari and Hansi. When Balban became Sultan, he had taken charge of clearing the forests in this part of Haryana region and dealt with high handedness with the Meos of the region.

Umari and others, the region produced all those crops which were cultivated during *kharif* and *rabi* season crops. Thakur Pheru's list throws light on some twenty five crops⁹; Barani offers the prices of few¹⁰; Ibn Batutta talks about many crops in general description but identifies Sirsa and its surroundings in particular for producing fine quality rice which could be exported elsewhere¹¹; similarly al-Umari, the author of *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar* enlists the prices of crops for 1330's.¹²

In this manner it becomes apparent that the Haryana region had developed various pockets where cultivation of crops was carried out in both the seasons. Further improvements in the produce are indicated in the accounts of Afif and Yahya bin Sirhindi, in many parts including western parts of Haryana proper tract and Bhattiana tract ever since the mid-fourteenth century.¹³

As identified in the first chapter, Haryana region had characteristics of semi-aridness and aridness mainly due to the absence of perennial rivers. Firuz Shah was perhaps the first Sultan of Delhi who decided to overcome the water shortage problem on an extensive scale. The chief apparatus was

⁹ D. Sharma, *The History of Early Chauhan Dynasty*, (appendix), p. 355.

¹⁰ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 355-56; (tr.), Fuller and Khallaque, *The Reign of Alau-din Khilji*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 100-129.

¹¹ *The Rehla of Ibn Batutta*, (tr.), M. Hussain, p. 23 also see H.A.R. Gibb, *Ibn Batutta : Travels in Asia and Africa*, London, 1983, p. 193.

¹² *Masalik al-absar fi Mamalik al-amsar*, (tr.), Otto Spies, p. 57; I.H. Siddiqi and Ahmad as *A Fourteenth Century Arab Account*, p.22.

¹³ Also see chapter I; Barani and Afif both had accounted for the aridness in this part of Haryana region. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 567 and (tr.), Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 27; Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 125 and (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 73.

the canal network.¹⁴ Firuz Shah excavated the double canal system (*Rajabwah* and *Ulugh Khani*) with their branches and sub-branches.¹⁵ These covered the large proportion of Haryana region and since then we start getting references about settlements and thereby extension in cultivation. Some of these settlements developed into *qasbas* and performed administrative and economic functions. Thus, we come across *qasba* Jind, *qasba* Dhatart, *qasba* Tughlaqpur/Safedon, *shahar* Hansi and Hissar-i-Firuz, while many villages, except Jhajjar¹⁶ and Mandoti/Mandhauthi¹⁷ remained unnamed.¹⁸ Apparently, some areas had substantial growth and thereby noticed the attention of the revenue department. Firuz Shah, thus, created a *shiq* with Hissar-i-Firuz as its headquarters and placed Hansi, Hissar-i-Firuz, Agroha, Fatahabad, Sirsa, Salura and Khizarabad and some other

¹⁴ For the identification of what proportion of Haryana region was watered by canal network irrigation see Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 128-29; (tr.), Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 73-76. However, Yahya bin Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 125-26 and (tr.), K.K. Basu, pp. 130-31 is more elaborative about the routes of the canals. This was probably because Yahya bin Sirhindi was the inhabitant of Sirhind and being a local resident acquired much knowledge about the geography of the region and the extent of canal network. According to him one branch extended from Sutlej to Jhajjar (*qasba*); the second from Sirmur hills to Hansi, Arsan and Hissar Firuz; the third from Ghaggar via Sirsuti/Sirsa fort to Harni Khera; the fourth from Yamuna to Budhai which extended till Hissar-i-Firuz and finally the fifth joining the waters of Saraswati to those of Salima. Also see K.K. Basu, 'The House of Tughlaqs', *JASB*, XXVI, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 254-55; R.C. Jauhari, 'A Few Canals of Medieval Punjab', *Proceedings of Punjab Historical Congress*, I, Patiala, 1965, pp. 82-86 and Abha Singh, 'Irrigating Haryana...', pp. 49-52; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Muglal India*, 2nd edn., Delhi, 1999, pp. 33-37.

¹⁵ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* pp. 128-29.

¹⁶ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 125 and (tr.) p. 130.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 129 and (tr.) p. 78.

areas under the newly created *shiq*.¹⁹ Earlier the same area was placed under Hansi which has been recorded by Afif; '... Before this time, in the days of old kings, this country had been entered in the revenue accounts as belonging to the division of Hansi'.²⁰ The person incharge of this territory was Malik Dalyan²¹ who had taken utmost care of this part of Haryana region.

The region which was once brought under cultivation remained under plough in the post-Firuz Shah period as well.²² However, it got affected adversely during Timur's invasion who ravaged the Haryana territory²³ and created unstability which apparently continued till the first half of sixteenth century.²⁴ The revenue figures available for Haryana region from *Baburnama* suggest that the region was ploughed.²⁵ However, further efforts to improve availability of water are not recorded. It is apparent that later rulers or their support group did not care much about the existing facilities and appear to

¹⁹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128 and (tr.) Rizvi, p. 74; also see W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 59-60.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ *ibid.*

²² The Account of Haryana region at the time of invasion of Timur in the late fourteenth century suggest that the Haryana region was a fertile tract, with settlements of varied size and rural and urban in nature. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (tr.), *History of India...*, III, pp. 427-29; *Zafarnama*, (tr.), *History of India...*, III, pp. 491-97 also supports the same. These settlements were Hissar-i-Firuzi (*shahar*), Sirsa (*shahar*), Fatahabad (*shahar*) Rajabpur (a fort), Tohana (a village), Kaithal (*qasba*), Aspandi (a fort), Tughlaqpur (a village), Panipat (*shahar*).

²³ *ibid.*, pp. 427-50; *Zafarnama*, pp. 86-129.

²⁴ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (tr.), pp.183-86, 213, 250-51 and (tr.) *History of India*, III, pp. 491-97.

²⁵ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. .521.

have neglected the previous canal network.²⁶ Was it the fear of superior power's attention over the region which influenced the favourites of the Sultans to opt for their assignments in safer regions? To say anything definitely about the maintenance of these canals would be nothing more than a guess work. Later, emperor Akbar excavated the canal and got it repaired and widened first by Shihabuddin Khan²⁷ and later by Nuruddin Muhammad Tarkhan.²⁸ Barani and Afif also pointed out for the earlier period that Akbar also expected to gain from the re-excavation of canals. His expectations are obvious from the following words: 'my desire is to reap one hundredth fold, that my crown may become wealthy and that the *zamindars* may obtain double returns'.²⁹ Akbar's interest and efforts support our understanding that rejuvenation of this territory was considered vitally important by Delhi-Agra central political authority.³⁰

Ain-i-Akbari gives the measured area (*arazi/zamin-i-paimuda*) for the Haryana region. However, it is difficult to evaluate the extent of cultivation. There are sharp differences over the meaning and treatment of

²⁶ Lt. Yule, 'A Canal Act of Emperor Akbar...', pp. 213-14.

²⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 514-15; tr (I), p. 353. The canal had silted up by the time of Akbar and Shihabuddin Khan, the Governor of Delhi repaired the canal in order to extend cultivation in his *jagirs* and renamed it *Shihab Nahar*. Also see Irfan Habib, 1st edn., pp. 31-32 and 2nd edn., pp. 33-37.

²⁸ Lt. Yule, 'A Canal Act of Emperor Akbar...', pp. 215-16.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 214.

³⁰ The *dasturs* given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 199 and (tr.) II, pp. 105-08, 114-17 show that the number of crops assessed for revenue in this region numbered fourty, a number that matches favourably with the crops grown in Ganga-Yamuna Doab.

arazi figures available in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.³¹ *Ain's arazi* statistics have repeatedly been utilised to explore the growth of agricultural sector. The problem of reconciliation between the *jama arazi* figures as stated in the *Ain* and the average of *dasturs* rates for medium quality food crops, along with expected income alienated on per *bigha* basis to the land grantees is genuine and of vital significance.³² This discussion leads to the following inferences.³³

- (a) the measured area figures of *Ain-i-Akbari* specify the area of administrative/fiscal jurisdiction of respective divisions of *suba*;³⁴
- (b) the size of uncultivable waste stood at a minimum of 47 percent of the area of a *suba*.
- (c) the size of cultivable waste varied between 20 to 55 percent of the measured area figure of *Ain-i-Akbari*.

The point raised in Trivedi's argument that average *dastur* rates for food crops stood around 40 *dams* per *bigha*, and not around 20,³⁵ prompts us

³¹ W.H Moreland, Irfan Habib, Shireen Moosvi, Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subramaniam have all treated these to indicate cultivable fields, cultivable wastes and uncultivable waste (village habitation) *nullahs*, tanks, etc. W.H. Moreland, 'The Agricultural Statistics of Mughal Empire', *JUPHS*, 1919, II, pt.1, pp. 1- 39; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 2nd edn., pp. 5-6; Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, p. 42. However, K.K. Trivedi disagree with them and has suggested that the *arazi* shows the jurisdictional area of respective administrative/fiscal divisions. See K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 53-54.

³² K.K.Trivedi, 'Estimating forests, wastes and fields, c.1600', *Studies in History*, 14,2,n.s.1998,pp. 301-11.

³³ *ibid.*,p.311

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra:Economic and Political Profile*,pp. 54-55.

to evaluate *Ain*'s area statistics differently, than hereto done, in order to find the extent of cultivation, c.1595. Based on demarcations available in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*. Table 2.1 attempts to see the percentage of Haryana territory in Mughal *subas* of Agra and Delhi.

Table 2.1

Haryana Territory in the *sarkars* of *suba* Delhi and Agra

<i>Suba</i>	<i>Sarkar</i>	Map area of <i>sarkars</i> in sq. kms.	Map area of Haryana territory in <i>sarkars</i> in sq. kms	percentage 4:3
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(A) DELHI		172,992		
	Delhi	20,622	10,836	52.54
	Rewari	3,111	2,112	67.88
	Hissar-i-Firuzi	32,233	17,872	55.44
	Sirhind	30,174	8,334	27.62
	Total	(i) 86,140	39,154	45.45
(B) AGRA		120,220		
	Narnaul	10,684	3,084	28.86
	Tijara	1,639	1,278	77.97
	Sahar	2,582	398	15.14
	Alwar	7,192	310	4.31
	Total	(ii) 22,097	5,070	22.94
GRAND TOTAL (i+ii)		108,237	44,224	40.85

Source : *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* pp. vii-viii, and sheets 4A, 6A and 8A

From Table 2.1 we find that out of the total of 44,224 sq. kms 88.54% of Haryana territory was located in the *sarkars* of Delhi *suba* and 11.46% in

the *sarkars* of Agra *suba*. The table also shows percentage of Haryana territory in each *sarkar* of Delhi and Agra *subas* (col.5) . Following from the above, we have attempted to see the relationship between the map area and *Ain's arazi*/ measured area figures for the *sarkars* in table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Relationship between <i>Ain's</i> measured area and map area <i>Suba</i>	<i>Sarkar</i>	Map area of Haryana territory in sq. kms.	<i>Ain's</i> Measured area in sq. kms.	Percentage 4:3
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(A) DELHI				
	Delhi	10,836	7412.678	68.41
	Rewari	2,112	(+) 2297.395	(+)108.78
	Hissar-i-Firuzi	17,872	8773.189	49.91
	Sirhind	8,334	5964.788	71.57
	Total	(i) 39,154	24,448.050	62.44
(B) AGRA				
	Narnaul	3,084	2712.946	87.97
	Tijara	1,278	1200.187	93.91
	Sahar	398	253.699	63.74
	Alwar	310	65.734	21.20
	Total	(ii) 5,070	4,232.566	83.48
GRAND TOTAL (i+ii)		44,224	28,680.616	64.85

Source : *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4A, 6A and 8A; *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 443-44, 451-51, 518-520, 525-29 (tr.) II, pp.197, 203-06, 293-301.

It emerges from table 2.2 that about 62% of the area of Delhi *suba sarkars* and approximately 83% of *suba* Agra's *sarkars* which belong to present Haryana territory was measured in c.1595. If we take both the *subas*

together, then the percentage of measured area was approximately 64% of the map area .

The varying degree of measurement in different territorial divisions, noticeable above, could be on account of a number of reasons. Most significant is the physiographical. Except *sarkar* Rewari, all the *sarkars* show smaller measured area in comparison to map area in respective *sarkars*. In case of *sarkar* Rewari measured area exceeds map area. Where as the rest of the *sarkars* can not be measured completely because of natural barriers like forests, water streams, hillocks and desert.

In case of *sarkar* Delhi the measured area is 68% of map area which suggests that this part of *sarkar* Delhi had considerable amount of settlements and it remained a prosperous tract. *Sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuzi portrays a different picture. It shows measured area as 49% of the map area. The probable reason of less percentage of measured area lies in the existence of forest cover approximately in the central part of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuzi and *bangar* / desert tract in its southern part. The forest covers have been recorded as imperial hunting grounds in the Mughal period chronicles. They were located in Agroha and Hissar-i-Firuzi surroundings. These forests were inhabited by *cheetah*, which suggests thick vegetation. Therefore, the Mughal authority in c.1595 could not measure this part of Hissar-i-Firuzi (see **Map I**). Moving down a little in the south of Hissar-i-Firuzi one traces the pastures for grazing

purpose by the cattle of *bagar* tract of Haryana and Rajasthan provinces.³⁶ Here the land was not cultivable either due to sandy nature of the soil or low productivity. *Ain* does not list any *pargana* in this part. Besides this, the physical features of the land under *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza also mentions the existence of detached Arawalli hills in the south-west corner of present Hissar district.³⁷ Among them the highest hill was the Tosham hill (800 feet). This territory was also interspersed by sand hillocks which were scattered, from western extreme to eastern extreme of the district. However, their number decreased towards the east. We also find mention of shifting sand dunes locally called as *tibba* which were unfertile patches. Finally, one can infer from the observations that it was the eastern part of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza which was conveniently measured in c.1595 and it also contained numerous settlements and almost 23 *mahals* of the *sarkar*.

In case of *sarkar* Sirhind the measured area stood at 71% of the map area. This territory also shows large number of settlements. This land was watered by the branches of Yamuna and Ghaggar and, therefore, this part of *sarkar* Sirhind remained most prosperous tract in the contemporary times.

Except Alwar other *sarkars* of *suba* Agra show relatively higher percentage of measured area out of map area. These *sarkars* contained settlements which were also closely located. *Sarkar* Tijara like Rewari *sarkar* was completely measured. *Sarkar* Narnaul shows small measured

³⁶ See *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4A & 4B.

³⁷ P.J.Fagan, *Hissar District Gazetteer*, Lahor

area owing to existence of detached Arawalli branches. Perhaps for the same reasons *sarkar* Sahar and Alwar recorded small measured area .

Based on measured area derived in table 2.2 and agreeing to a minimum of 40 *dams* per *bigha* as the average revenue rate³⁸ we can attempt to find the size of cultivated area. For this exercise we have adjusted the *jama* given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the same manner as the map area. The results are given in the table below, showing the proportions of uncultivable waste, cultivable waste and the cultivated area.

Table 2.3

<i>Sarkar</i>	Map area of Haryana territory (sq.kms.)	Uncultivable waste (sq.kms.)	Cultivable waste (sq.kms.)	Cultivable land (sq.kms.)	(5) as %age of (2)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Delhi	10,836	3,423.32	4,309.34	3,103.34	28.64
Rewari	2,112	(-) 185.40	776.13	1,521.26	72.03
Hissar-i- Firuza	17,872	9,098.81	5,978.20	2,794.99	15.64
Sirhind	8,334	2,369.21	2,112.89	3,851.90	46.22
Narnaul	3,084	371.05	1,311.61	1,401.34	45.44
Tijara	1,278	77.81	491.32	708.87	55.47
Sahar	398	144.30	198.79	54.91	13.79
Alwar	310	244.27	(-) 246.59	312.33	100.75
Total	44,224	15,954.57	15,384.97	13,748.93	31.08

Source : Table 2.1, 2.2 and appendix IIA and V B.

Statistics matching the level of information given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* are not available in the later sources. *Chahar Gulshan*,³⁹ an early eighteenth century source probably based on the records from the closing years of

³⁸ K.K.Trivedi, 'Estimating forests...', *Studies in History*, p. 307.

³⁹ *Chahar Gulshan* in *India of Aurangzeb*, tr., by J.N.Sarkar for statistical information. Also see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 3-4; K.K.Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p. 59.

Aurangzeb's reign, is perhaps the only source which could help in attempting comparisons on some limited scale. Due to this limitation one can only look at the expansion in measured area. However, proportionate change in the size of measured area is in no way indicative of increase / decrease in the area of cultivation by the same proportion. Relative position of measured areas based on these two sources is given in table 2.4.

Table 2.4

Comparison of measured area between c. 1600-c.1700.

<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i>		<i>Chahar Gulshan</i>		
	No. of <i>parganas</i>	Measured area in sq. kms.	No. of <i>parganas</i>	Measured area in sq. kms.	%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rewari	12	2804.5977	11	5082.9582	81
Tijara	18	1796.8704	18	792.8316	?
Narnaul	16	5055.6204	15	7576.1515	50
Total	46	9657.0921	44	1338.7413	—

Source : *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 386-595; *Chahar Gulshan*, (tr.) *India of Aurangzeb*, p.187.

Sarkar Rewari and Narnaul show tremendous increase in the size of measured area, while in case of Tijara some transcription mistake is apparent. For other two *sarkars* we have seen that their territories being in Haryana region were extensively measured in c.1595. Extensive heavy forests adjoined these territories. In all likelihood the forest areas were cleared on a large scale between the period of *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Chahar Gulshan* that provide for such an increase in these two *sarkars*. However, the above results can not be imposed over the entire territory as area covered

in the above table 2.4 was very small in relation to the total area of the Haryana.

Historical evidences related to the Haryana region amply shows that once the land which was brought under plough remained under cultivation, with normal rotation for regaining fertility. The canal irrigation in the region improved productivity.⁴⁰

However, the neglect in the maintenance of these canals made noticeable change in the yield. We have a *Memorandum* by the people of *chakla*⁴¹ Hissar-i-Firuz where a complaint was registered regarding the stoppage of supply of water.⁴² It appears according to the writer of *Memorandum* (c.1638) that the Hissar and its surroundings were not receiving water of *Shaiku-ni*⁴³ or *Nahr-i-Faiz*⁴⁴ due to diversion of *Nahr-i-Bihisht* by Shah Jahan in his 11th RY as a result of construction of a new

⁴⁰ For a discussion on significance of canal irrigation in the Haryana region see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 2nd edn. pp. 15 & 133-37; Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 59-60.

⁴¹ *Chakla* was an administrative unit probably added since the times of Shahjahan. It was of use in land revenue collection. Theoretically more than twenty one *parganas* together in a unit were defined as *chakla*. Yassin's *Glossary of Revenue Terms*, Purnea Ms. ff. 68a & 82a; (tr.) Hasan Mahamood, *An Eighteenth Century Agrarian Manual*, Yassin's *Dastur-i-malguzari*, Delhi, 2000, term no. 169 (forthcoming). However it is not compulsory to have more than twenty one *parganas* even a lesser number could have formed a *chakla*. Some times a *chakla* was a bigger than a *sarkar*

⁴² This *Memorandum* dated c.1635 was issued on Chaitang. It is included in the collection of Balkrishan Brahman. For detail see Abha Singh 'The *Char Bahar* of Balkrishan Brahman : An Hitherto Unknown Source of the mid- 17th Century', *PIHC*, 54th session, 1993.

⁴³ Abha Singh, 'Irrigating Haryana...', pp. 55-56.

⁴⁴ Sujana Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 36; (tr.) M.A. Ansari, *Geographical Glimpses of India*, III, p. 66; *Chahar Gulshan*, f.47a and (tr.), *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 124.

channel.⁴⁵ It can be inferred from this *Memorandum* that the importance of the canal irrigation was acknowledged by the people of the region and in absence of supply of water they made complaints. However, no remedial measures seem to have been taken to restore flow of water for the people of Hissar and adjoining *parganas*.

II

Haryana region was gifted with both fertile pockets of arable land (comprising of Haryana proper tract and Kurukshetra tract) and varying proportion of cultivable waste. The fertility of soil is the determining factor for the selection of crops. It also determines the use of iron plough. In the absence of direct evidences we assume that producers of this region were familiar with the use of similar agricultural implements as in the adjoining territories⁴⁶ and that they followed similar other practices.⁴⁷

The first reference about various crops grown in the region came from Thakur Pheru, c.1290. His list provides information about twenty five crops grown in Delhi-Hansi-Narhad area⁴⁸ and comprised of both commercial and food crops. Food crops included superior (wheat, rice) and coarse varieties (barley, *jowar*, etc.), commercial crops include sugarcane, cotton and mustard. Out of these crops inclusion of sugar cane in pre- Firuz Shah canal

⁴⁵ Major Colvin, 'On the Restoration of Ancient Canals', pp.109-10.

⁴⁶ Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 24-5; Harbans Mukhia, *Perspectives on Medieval History*, Delhi, 1993, pp. 214-44 and K.K.Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p. 61.

⁴⁷ Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp.24-25.

⁴⁸ D.Sharma, *The History of Early Chauhan Dynasty*, appendix, pp. 355-56

period is revealing in the sense that this region received, comparatively speaking, difficult water supply – both natural and artificial.⁴⁹ As pointed earlier Thakur Pheru's list accounts for crops grown in the Delhi-Hansi-Narhad region only, apparently other parts of Haryana were not similarly productive. However, with the excavation of canal changes occurred and sources for the fifteenth century refer for the production of both *kharif* and *rabi* harvest. Yet, Barani and Afif or others, do not provide as exhaustive a list as Pheru. According to Barani, '...where the peasants could not think of sowing the crops, wheat and sugarcane could raise only one crop of *moth* and *til* in a year, they would now harvest both *rabi* and *kharif* crops'.⁵⁰ Afif is more informative and writes about the cultivation of *moth*, *ganjad*,^{50a} two varieties of sugarcane – black and *ponda/paunda*, *nukhud* (black gram), wheat, barely, etc.⁵¹ A Prominent omission is indigo which appears all over Mewat tract and other parts of Haryana c.1600.⁵² By far the most exhaustive list of crops appear in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The *Ain* has forty to forty five crops for different parts of the Haryana region.⁵³ It is noticeable that by the close of the sixteenth century the entire Haryana region had become comparable to other regions of north India in the production of varieties of food and commercial crops.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ Barani, *Tarikh -i- Firuz Shahi*, p. 568; (tr.), Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 28-9.

^{50a} *ganjad* can not be identified.

⁵¹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128; (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

⁵² *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.) II, pp.105-17; Palsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, tr as *Jahangir's India*, p. 15.

⁵³ *ibid.*, (tr.), II, pp. 105-07.

Thakur Pheru and the *Ain* both provide information about per *bigha* yields for various crops. However, the size of a *bigha* and weight of a *man* underwent many changes.⁵⁴ A comparison between the two periods, therefore, is not possible. We, however, can attempt comparison by indexing the yields, with wheat as 100 and obtain the relative change that appear over the period. The indexed figures are given in the table below. We have taken the average yield from the three categories of land given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Pheru has provided only one figure for each crop.

Table 2.5
Comparison of yields of various crops in c. 1290 and c. 1595.

Produce	c.1290 <i>man/bigha</i>	c.1595 <i>man/bigha</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
Wheat	100.00	100.00
Barley	124.00	100.00
Cotton	35.00	59.88
Mung	40.00	61.08
Urd	---	61.08
Moth	53.33	43.11
Juar	88.88	86.23
Masur	71.11	53.29
Seasmum	35.55	50.30

Source: Thakur Pheru's figure for Delhi-Hansi-Narhad area in D. Sharma, *The History of Early Chauhan Dynasty*, (appendix), p. 355; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 69-71.

Pheru's yield belong to a period when canal irrigation was not available. For a comparison with *Ain's* yield we have therefore taken average of yield from unirrigated land (middling and bad). The results are

⁵⁴ For a discussion on such changes during the Mughal period see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 353-56 & .

mixed. While in case of barley, *moth*, *juar* and *masur*, relative value of output shows a downward slide. In case of cotton, *mung* and *urd* it is opposite. The shift is similar in extent, whether upward or downward. While appreciation in the value of cotton would possibly be because of development of weaving centres in the region. For other crops explanations are difficult to suggest.

Thakur Pheru also informs about sugarcane production and provides us the yield of the crop per *bigha*. There appears to be some misunderstanding about the yield per *bigha*. It records 10 maunds as the produce from a *bigha* which is extremely low. In the Dashrath Sharma's discussion it is said : 50 maunds of sugarcane juice produced about 10 maunds of jaggery. George Watt,⁵⁵ writing for Hoshiarpur in the late nineteenth century, informs that per acre produce of crop stood at amount 295 maunds. This yielded about 25 maunds of jaggery. Even though the Sultanate period *bigha* was much smaller, it could not have yielded such low weight of crop. Apparently, Thakur Pheru meant 10 maunds of product (i.e. jaggery) from the crop obtained from a *bigha* of land. Even this yield raises doubts, 10 maunds of jaggery from 50 maunds of sugarcane is much higher than the estimates given by George Watt, i.e., 295 maunds of crop produced from 25¼ maunds, or 0.09 maunds jaggery from one maund of crop, c.1900, compared to 0.2 jaggery in Thakur Pheru's estimate.

⁵⁵ George Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, VI, Calcutta, 1889-93, p. 302.

Sugarcane, like cotton, is recorded in Mughal documents as *jins-i-kamil* or *jins-i-ala* (high grade crops, grown for the market)⁵⁶ and its cultivation appears to be quite extensive . The contemporary sources⁵⁷ show copiousness of sugarcane cultivation in the Haryana proper tract at Maham/Mahim near Rohtak. However, *Ain-i-Akbari* is silent in terms of yield regarding sugarcane cultivation, only two varieties of sugarcane *paunda/ponda* and common are mentioned.⁵⁸

Limited information about prices of some agricultural produce is also available. Due to unmeasureable change in the value of money, we have compared these by following the method of indexing. I have taken the prices of wheat at 100.

Table 2.6

Comparison of prices of agricultural products

Agricultural Produce (1)	c.1310 (2)	c.1595-96 (3)
Wheat	100.00	100.00
Barley	53.33	66.67
Rice	66.67	124.50
<i>Mash</i>	66.67	150.00
Gram	66.67	66.67
<i>Moth</i>	40.00	100.00
High Grade Sugar	1,333.33	2000.00
White Sugar	800.00	1,066.67

Sources : Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* pp. 304-05; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.) I, pp.65-67.

⁵⁶ Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 2nd edn., p. 43.

⁵⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 527; *The English Factories in India*, 1637-41, p. 134.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 76-77, (tr.), II, p. 85.

The relative value of food crops, more or less, remained same. A marginal rise in the value of rice could possibly be due to difference in strains. Price of sugar product also may have been increased on account of difference in their varieties between c.1400 and c.1600.

When Akbar adopted *zabti* system of revenue assessment, he categorized land into *polaj*, *paruti*, *chachhar* and *banzar*, depending upon the productivity of land whether irrigated or non-irrigated.⁵⁸ We are fortunate to have the *dastur* rates of various spring and autumn harvest for Haryana region. Table 2.7 gives *dastur* rates in relation to wheat (index=100). Some 21 crops have been taken into account for the following administrative units: Tijara, Narnaul, Sahar, Alwar, Sub-urban district, Jhajjar, Palwal, Rohtak, Gohana, Sirsa, Mahim/Maham, Rewari, Taoru, Sohana, Indri and Thanesar. Most of the crops were cultivated in different *dastur* areas of the *suba* of Agra and Delhi. Wheat, sugarcane and indigo required expensive inputs, whereas crops like barley, *jowar*, rice, etc. could be raised on less fertile soil and required less labour. The *dastur* rates of Indian vetches, barley, *adas*, mustard seeds, peas, *kur* rice, common rice, *mash*, *moth*, *lobiya*, *jowari* etc. were lower in comparison to wheat, sugarcane, cotton, indigo etc. The last three being the commercial crops had high *dastur* rates in comparison to wheat, say for sugarcane *ponda/paunda* variety it was more than 300 percent. Sugarcane was used for production of jaggery and sugar. In the absence of evidence, one can not be sure if it was transported to other parts of north India. Similarly indigo crop which was

⁵⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 68-90.

TABLE 2. 7

Commodities	Agra Suba Prices Prevalent in c. 1595 for Haryana Territory				Delhi Suba Prices Prevalent in c. 1595 for Haryana Territory												
	Tijara	Narnaul	Sahar	Alwar	Sub- Urban Dist.	Panipat	Jhajjar	Palwal	Rohtak	Gohana	Sirsa	Mahim	Rewari	Taoru	Sohana	Indri	Thanesar
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
SPRING HARVEST																	
Wheat	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Indian Vetches	56.42	58.27	53.91	60.41	57.61	62.03	54.22	51.61	49.93	51.56	52.22	66.42	55.78	48.62	123.44	70.88	52.57
Barley	65.59	67.42	62.67	65.44	66.85	69.52	68.55	65.59	58.51	73.37	72.12	72.12	38.20	34.47	70.59	51.06	52.47
Adas	40.81	38.85	39.00	39.00	38.33	41.35	39.51	40.64	41.28	52.09	41.36	41.28	38.20	40.85	...	49.26	18.87
Mustard Seeds	49.52	60.33	47.32	49.32	46.34	50.00	51.07	48.59	51.71	50.87	50.00	52.22	49.44	48.62	...	41.49	42.30
Peas	49.52	43.81	47.32	47.78	46.34	44.83	42.88	48.59	44.58	52.09	51.19	44.88	46.27	45.51	91.20	39.30	37.09
Onion	126.39	135.34	120.77	122.77	128.82	134.76	127.12	126.39	136.96	148.08	145.54	138.97	126.49	126.49	...	171.59	138.11
Kur Rice	78.14	74.33	79.12	76.06	84.39	91.04	99.64	78.13	79.17	78.76	79.17	79.17	33.45	82.87	...	81.98	82.63
Ajvain	126.39	135.34	120.77	125.35	133.71	152.60	137.82	126.39	145.54	148.08	144.24	145.54	...	126.49	...	164.82	141.57
Autumn Harvest																	
Sugarcane (Ponda)	347.53	347.90	322.19	305.06	334.12	339.60	409.32	340.28	371.57	373.71	366.78	371.57	348.42	347.74	637.24	469.18	403.56
Sugarcane Common	289.05	216.25	206.25	200.00	201.76	210.61	205.49	215.09	217.79	223.34	217.87	217.87	217.29	195.76	392.16	231.12	202.00
Dark Coloured rice	121.51	124.86	113.24	120.74	124.92	114.72	120.74	118.51	106.35	110.06	91.07	130.30	120.60	121.10	...	...	...
Common Rice	98.39	97.98	86.30	94.12	88.41	75.65	86.99	90.54	84.76	...	77.41	82.53	100.12	98.47	170.71	82.41	70.89
Mash	54.82	61.14	53.91	53.42	55.87	56.74	54.23	48.63	65.06	61.32	71.16	71.16	55.78	54.86	105.90	62.90	55.46
Cotton	138.77	143.37	141.36	132.60	141.44	156.11	145.79	148.63	152.75	155.24	152.58	152.60	141.22	138.88	277.98	209.50	252.43
Moth	35.66	36.84	35.93	34.08	36.69	44.88	37.84	37.54	39.58	40.27	39.58	39.58	34.86	35.69	70.59	42.27	38.48
Indigo	250.77	251.00	242.55	239.58	192.06	207.19	197.97	188.44	205.56	217.97	214.24	267.12	247.70	250.93	476.46	315.00	270.58
Hina	121.47	123.08	117.11	117.11	122.85	130.30	127.66	121.58	134.07	132.40	130.13	130.13	120.44	121.10	228.58	137.17	117.83
Henp	133.29	143.44	132.14	.....	133.71	152.70	137.82	126.54	137.29	139.68	149.05	147.56	141.22	138.40	...	106.67	138.01
Lobiya	47.50	56.62	49.31	40.53	49.20	...	42.88	51.61	53.42	59.52	71.16	71.16	55.78	47.53	96.87	...	...
Jowar	54.82	56.62	52.38	52.38	52.60	56.74	54.22	40.80	60.27	66.20	71.16	59.93	55.78	54.86	105.90	64.84	55.74

Source: *Ain-i-Akbari* I, (tr.), pp. 105-108 and 114-117

used for the manufacture of blue dye⁵⁹ is reported to have been cultivated in Mewat tract. According to *Ain's dastur* – rate for indigo, it was 200 times than that of wheat. Pelsaert, a Dutch traveler who visited India in the third decade of seventeenth century, reported about Mewat tract and cultivation of indigo in many villages.⁶⁰ He also accounted for the annual yield which was 1000 *bales* or more. However, the quality of indigo produced in Mewat tract was inferior to that of the Bayana which was the best in the seventeenth century. Even the indigo of Kol, Khurja and other places was relatively better. The inferior quality produced in Mewat tract was perhaps due to sandy soil in the sub-region. For this reason, it was not sold well in distant places and was rather used locally and distributed to the places where it was not cultivated.⁶¹ Pelsaert has provided the estimates of annual yield of the dye for three major indigo tracts, which are located in the surroundings of Haryana region. The details of the yield are as follows:⁶²

⁵⁹ For details on indigo cultivation, manufacture of dye, price movement export etc. see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 2nd edn., pp. 47-49; Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Pre-Modern Indigo Vat of Bayana', *Journal of Islamic Environmental Design*, Rome, 1989; K.K. Trivedi, 'Innovation and Change in Indigo Production in Bayana, Eastern Rajasthan', *Studies in History*, 10, 1, 1994; 'Indigo in the Bayana Region in the 17th Century', Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, JNU, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 1-28 and 'Comparative System of Indigo Production in pre-British India', paper presented at 2nd International Symposia on Wood, Indigo and other Natural Drugs: Past, Present and Future, Toulouse, (France), June, 1995.

⁶⁰ Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie*, (tr) as *Jahangir's India*, p. 15.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

A. Bayana Tract		
(i)	Favourable years	4000 <i>bales</i>
(ii)	Unfavourable years	2000 <i>bales</i>
A. Kol-Khurja		
		1000 <i>bales</i>
B. Mewat		
		1000 <i>bales</i>

The weight of one *bale* was 4 *maunds* (*man-i-Akbari*) and one *man-i-Akbari* was 55.32 lb. avdp., therefore, for Mewat tract the cultivation would have been 221280 lb avdp. or 100.4 metric tons. The production figure is a fair indication of extensive cultivation of indigo in the Mewat tract.

Cotton cultivation was also distributed all over the region. Table 2.7 indicates the revenue rates for cotton that ranged between 130 times to 150 times of wheat for Tijara, Narnaul, Sahar, Alwar, Sub-urban district, Panipat, Jhajjar, Rohtak, Gohana, Sirsa, Mahin, Rewari and Taoru. These rates were lower to the rates at Sohana, Indri and Thanesar that ranged between 200 to 270 times of wheat. By all these figures we may summarise that cotton growing was wide spread in the first category of *dasturs*. The cotton, which was produced in the region was locally consumed and weaving centres emerged within the region. Panipat was one such prominent centre.⁶³

Revenue estimates for pre-Mughal period are not available. Only *Baburnama*⁶⁴ provides some information reproduced below.

⁶³ *EFI*, 1637-41, p. 135.

⁶⁴ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 521

Revenue figures from Baburnama for Haryana Region

<i>Sarkars</i>	<i>Tankas</i>	<i>Dams</i>
Sirhind	1,29,31,985	25,863,970
Hissar-i-Firuzi	1,30,75,174	26,150,348
Delhi and Mian Doab ⁶⁴	3,69,50,254	73,900,508
Mewat	1,69,81,000	33,962,000
Total	7,99,38,413	159,876,826

Source : *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 521; 1 *tanka* = 2 *dam*

However, above details can not be compared with these from the *Ain* as we do not know what territories/ areas constituted any of the *sarkars* mentioned in the *Baburnama*.

Even *Ain's* figures, relating to *jama* (based on appendix V B), taken by themselves do not offer any noticeable trend from those for other regions of the Mughal Empire, c.1600. In absolute figures the *jama* from the Haryana territory was 230,687,615 *dams*. However, the ratio between *jama* and *arazi* stood at 19.32 *dams* per *biga*, a range close to a relationship noticed for other *subas* of the north.⁶⁵

Out of the estimated revenue of 230,687,615 *dams* 6,027,317 *dams* was gifted away as *mada-i-maash* grant, and is entered in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as *suyurghal*. This amounted to 6.58 percent of the *jama* of this territory.

⁶⁴ Mian Doab stands for the area covered by the Ganga- Yamuna Doab.

⁶⁵ Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, p. 187.

If one agrees that 50 percent of the balance was out of the assessed land⁶⁶ and the balance from the cultivable land, and unassessed land, then the total value of alienated revenue would be double of the stated *suyurghal* figures.⁶⁷ In case of Haryana it would come to 13.16 percent.

Our discussion suggests that Haryana territory was considered vital/indispensable by the Delhi rulers. Sultanate period witnessed steps for improving agricultural production, for agriculture was the main source of income to the state. The positive results were apparent even during the Sultanate rule. These are attested by the statistics of the *Ain-i-Akbari* where Haryana's estimate follow the same trend as those of other Indian territories.

⁶⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p.199; (tr.), I, p. 280.

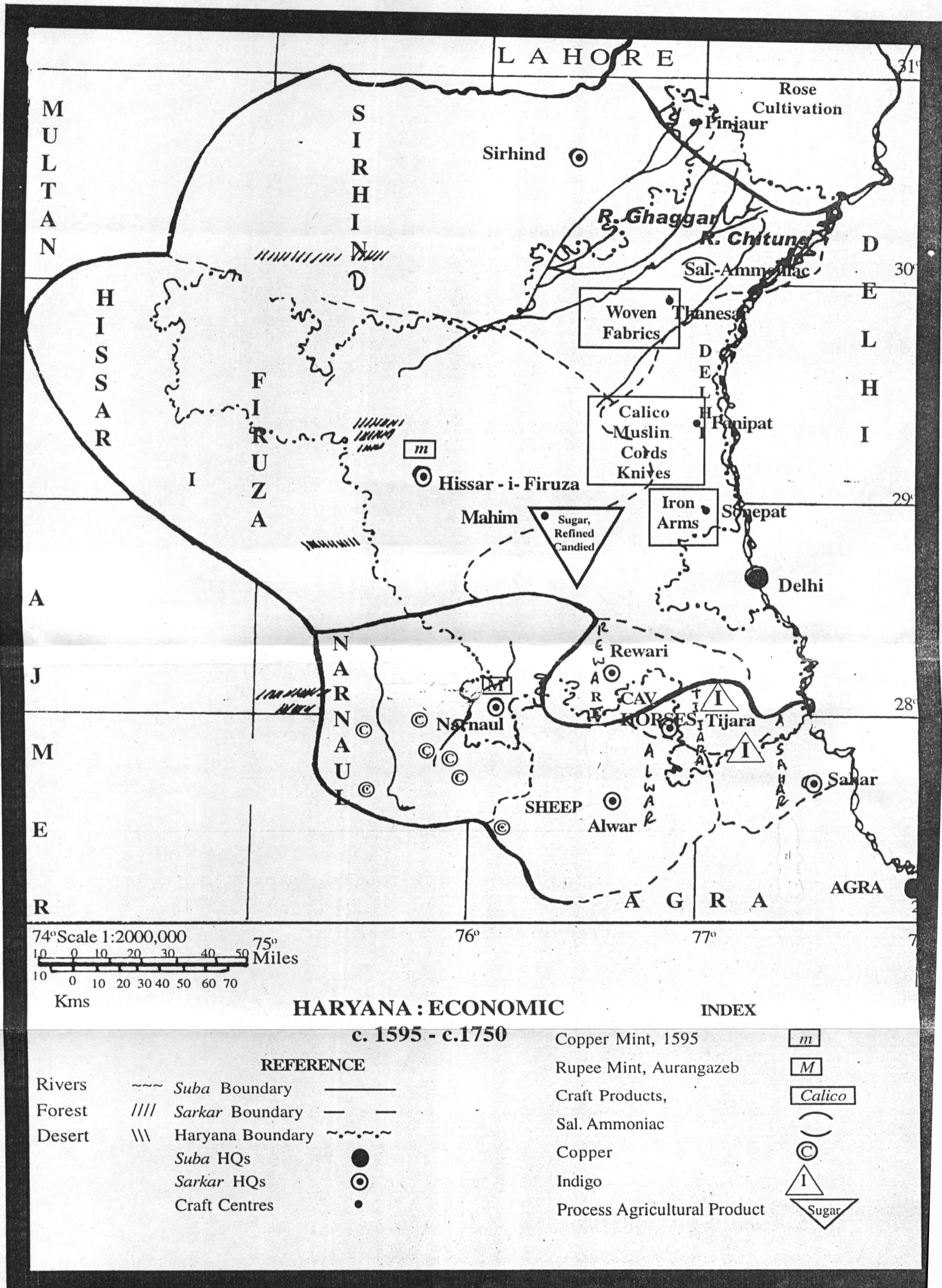
⁶⁷ K.K.Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p. 97.

CHAPTER III

NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND TRADE

We have discussed how the Haryana region was suitably placed both geomorphologically and strategically. It has also been evaluated that agriculturally it could emerge as an economically prosperous zone. The agrarian surplus, thus generated, vitally contributed to the growth of settlements; some of which acquired a larger role in collection and distribution of different commodities within and outside the region. In the process many settlements acquired the status of a *qasba* or a *shahar*. Our attempt will now be to look at the factors, other than the agrarian, that could be related with regions' economic growth and the process of urbanisation.

The sources provide limited evidence on craft-production and transit trade. In such a situation travelers account help in constructing a fairly accurate picture of non-agrarian activities within Haryana region. The European travelers and Asian merchants — Multanis, Khurasanis, Iranis etc., and others who visited the region in medieval times account for market centres, production centres, mode of production in limited manner and monetary transactions. Yet these accounts are not exhaustive and, thus, fail to provide complete information. These European travelers / merchants were interested only in few items like indigo, salt-petre, sugar, textile etc. As a consequence their accounts sometime provide information on the availability of these products, organisation of trade, price - movements, working of



financial institutions, transport system, and at times about the related people: their life conditions, wages etc. Their accounts are largely silent on the other craft production and such non-agrarian activities that did not form part of their trade interest.

Important copper mines were located adjacent to the south-western boundary of Haryana region. Presently it forms part of Rajasthan State.¹ The associated places are Toda Bhim, Bairat, Singhana, Udaipur, Raipur and Kot Putli.² For the Sultanate period it is not possible to associate them with any of the known divisions / *iqta*. These being outside the political control of the Sultans of Delhi is equally unknown. For pre- Mughal times, we do not come across any information on copper mining altogether, yet acceptance by Abul Fazl³ of developed mining activity could be taken to indicate that extraction and refining of copper was in progress when Mughals assumed power. In the Mughal times these formed part of Agra *suba* till the middle of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, these were transferred to *suba* Delhi.⁴ Though we do not have any data regarding the production and related benefits but it will be a fair assumption that Haryana region derived some professional and monetary advantages.

¹ *National Map of India*, VIII, pl. no. 275.

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 442 and (tr.), II, pp. 192-93.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 422 and (tr.), II, p. 192.

⁴ Anonymous, *Dasturul-Amal-i-Alamgiri*, Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 6599, ff.109 a-b as cited in K.K. Trivedi, *Agra : Political and Economic Profile*, p. 22 and *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p. 13.

Two urban settlements Hissar-i-Firuz and Narnaul (both *sarkar* headquarters) served as mint towns in the region since the times of Akbar and remained so till the times of Aurangzeb.⁵ The existence of minting facility suggests that in the above mentioned settlements, a fair amount of population was engaged in activities associated with the minting process. The officials who occupied supervisory positions enjoyed comparatively high status in these establishments.⁶ The Mughal establishments to supervise minting of coins and use of copper in arms industry, along with attachment of ore rich areas with the central provinces, does suggest that the Mughal government exercised some kind of control over production and its use. Yet, large size of families⁷ conversant with copper utensil making in the region shows that availability of copper for domestic use was not denied. Reports about minting of silver coins at Narnaul are also available.⁸ This metal was obviously brought from elsewhere. The location of silver mint could possibly be to increase availability of silver coins in the region. We can not rule out

⁵ *ibid.*, I, p. 27 and (tr.) II, p. 32. Also see C.R. Singhal, *Mint Towns of Mughal Emperors of India*, Bombay, 1953, pp. 33-48; R.B. Whiteland, 'Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India', *JASB* (New Series), vol.8, no.11, 1912 and S.P. Taylor, 'List Complimentary to Mr. Whiteland's Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India', *Numismatic Supplement*, XXII.

⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), I, pp. 16-21.

⁷ Denzil Ibbeston, *Punjab Castes*, p. 317.

⁸ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4B and p. 13; *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 442 and (tr), P. 192; P.L. Gupta, 'A Study of Mint Towns of Akbar', *Essays Presented to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar*, (ed.) H.R. Gupta, Hoshiarpur, 1958, p. 160.

the possibility that the Mughal government utilised the facilities and minting expertise to meet the demand for both types of coins.

Iron is not found in any locality of Haryana region. However, its use in making of agricultural and other implements can not be ruled out. The nearest places from where iron could have been brought were Gwalior and Narwar in Agra *suba* and Suket Mandi in Lahore *suba*.⁹ However, information about location of iron-smiths in rural as well as urban settlements is not difficult to find. Monserrate records, for the sixteenth century, that many manufactures of armours / weapons lived at Sonapat.¹⁰ Panipat, another major settlement, finds mention as major knife making centre.¹¹ This suggests that the iron-smiths in this part of Haryana (eastern) had excelled in iron craftsmanship.

Salt-petre/Sal-ammoniac is a significant mineral product of the Haryana region recorded during contemporary times. Though it is traceable in different pockets of Haryana region, the contemporary accounts records the sal-ammoniac pits at Thanesar / Thaneshwar¹² in 'proper Haryana tract'.

⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 540 and (tr.), II, p. 321; George Watt, *The Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, IV, p. 511.

¹⁰ Monserrate, *The Commentary of His Journey to the Court of Akbar*, (tr.), Hoyland, Oxford, 1922, p. 95.

¹¹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B and p.13.

¹² Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 77; Pelsaert, *Remonstrance as Jahangir's India*, (tr.), p. 46; *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, p. 49; *The English Factories in India (EFI)*, 1637-41, W. Foster, (ed.), p. 134; William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, W. Foster (ed.), p. 158 and George Watt, *The Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, I, pp. 219-20.

Its manufacture has been widespread. It was used mainly for two purposes cooling of drinking water and manufacture of gunpowder.¹³ The European merchants showed their interest in its purchase due to its requirement for ballast in their ships.¹⁴ In search of salt-petre they visited the production centres and have thus recorded the manufacturing process. Peter Mundy has left most elaborate account of manufacturing of salt-petre at Agra and Ahamdabad.¹⁵ Pelsaert who has given the manufacturing account of *suba* Agra is, however, silent for Thanesar in our region. He probably was not aware of the manufacturing process of this centre. As the process was simple, and diffusion of knowledge was common¹⁶ we can presume that manufacturing process for Thanesar was same as that of Agra or Ahamdabad.

Based on Pelsaert's and Mundy's account we can reconstruct the manufacturing process of salt-petre.¹⁷ It was manufactured from nitrogenous organic matter and Potassium nitrate (KNO_2) deposits on the soil surface. According to Pelsaert, it was a sort of scum which was formed on the site of very old brick-kiln. This was dugged and purified by evaporation. It was also collected by scrapping the upper crust of the salt-earth. In order to

¹³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 51 and (tr.), I, p. 58; Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, pp. 76-77 and Bernier, *Travels of Mughal Empire*, pp. 356-57.

¹⁴ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p. 138.

¹⁵ Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, pp. 76-77.

¹⁶ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra, Economic and Political Profile*, p. 81.

¹⁷ Pelsaert. *Jhangir's India*, (tr.), p. 46 and Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, pp. 76-77

extract salt-petre out of nitrogenous organic matter / potassium nitrate, two shallow reservoirs either *pucca* (masonry) or *kuchha* (of mud walls) were constructed. These were of different plinth levels and were located adjacent to each other. The larger reservoir at a higher plinth was filled with salt-earth and later filled with water. It was thoroughly mixed in order to obtain thin and smooth paste. It was then left undisturbed for two days in order to be free of waste which get settled at the base. The water, then, was transferred to the lower reservoir and allowed to get settled. After required waiting period water was drained out and deposits were transferred into an iron pan and heated to remove the impurities at the bottom of jars. The jars were then broken and salt-petre thus obtained was then dried in sun heat.

The product of Thanesar was from all appearances consumed locally. None of the European establishments evidenced any interest in the Thanesar product. Delhi would have definitely benefitted by it as no other salt-petre source is reported in Delhi's locality. Also Delhi by this time had generated a great demand and, therefore, the product would have traversed on the frequented trade route via Sirhind – Thanesar – Karnal – Panipat – Gharaunda – Delhi – Faridabad – Palwal – Hodal – Mathura – Agra.¹⁸

The later accounts, *Gazetteers* and *Settlement Reports*, do record the manufacturing process, price, people's involvement, usage etc. According to

¹⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 52-106.

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several palatial buildings used as residences by the nobility, gardens, market streets, mosques, *madarsas*, tombs etc.²³

Though both Barani and Afif had accounted for these establishments, it is Afif who gives us details of construction activity, material used and also about the engineering skills. According to Afif, Hissar-i-Firuz was founded, two or three years after the return of Sultan Firuz Shah from Bengal at the site of two rural settlements -- Laras Khurd and Laras Buzurg, and when the city was constructed stone for its buildings were brought from Narasai hills and lime from Bakhor'.²⁴ The location of these two places is not identifiable. The construction activity included the fortification, construction of a big tank around the fortified area.²⁵ A survey of the city of Hissar-i-Firuz reveals that the location of old town was on the eastern side of present town of Hissar. The only surviving part of citadel is running on the eastern side of the Talaki gate.²⁶ Though the plan of Firuz Shah's streets are not clear, however, on the basis of the study of other medieval towns the following layout plans of the town had been suggested:

With a north west, south-east orientation passing by the eastern side of bazar masjid, and leading to the citadel, probably to the eastern gateway. The street was mainly flanked by shops and near the bazar masjid joined another market streets.²⁷

²³ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p.131 and (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 75-76.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.126 and (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

²⁶ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, p.19; A.B. Saxena, 'Hissar-i-Firuz: A Medieval Town of Haryana', *PIHC*, Calcutta, 1995, pp. 934-44.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.14.

The palace of Firuz Shah is situated on the north-western side of citadel, however only the ruins can now be observed. The surviving structures include north-western area of the palace with a gateway, the Lat ki Masjid and the four courtyards which are located in each direction.²⁸ A vivid description of the palace has been provided by Shams Siraj Afif.²⁹

...inside the fort they built a palace such that no one though he searched the world could find its like. There are several courts inside that palace. The audience hall was splendidly decorated. Innumerable innovations were used. One feature in this palace was that if someone with his wits about him came in, after passing through some of the courts, he would always end up in the centre. The central core of the palace was extremely dark, with narrow corridors, so that if the guards did not lead one, one could not find ones way out. They say that once a Chamberlain went in their alone. He was absent for several days, then the guards went in the took him out of the darkness.

Other existing grand structures of Firuz's time include Lat ki Masjid, Gujari Mahal, Garden Complex, Jhaaz Kothi etc. These buildings find usage of both bricks and stone. It is in Lat ki Masjid, where bricks had been used.³⁰ Hissar has post-Firuz Shah's buildings and complexes as well. The existence of large number of tombs however suggests thick muslim population besides the others.

Firuz Shah traced two pillars of Ashokan times in the Haryana region and got them transferred to Delhi. The large one was at a village

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 32-38 and 22-32.

²⁹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p.126 and (tr.) *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

³⁰ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, p. 37.

called Nawera in the district of Salura and the other at Topra near Khizrabad in Ambala district.³¹ Afif has given the details of the transfer of these pillars:

... these pillars were wrapped with bundles of the reed known as *ninerza* so that during taking down and transfer no damage is caused to them. Than these were lowered on big logs after loosening the base. Forty two animals dragged the ropes made of raw hide that were tied to the pillars. A few thousand persons put all strength together to perform this job of lowering the pillars to ground and placing it on logs. Then it was rolled and taken to the river bank to be transferred to big boats. These boats took it to Delhi from the village of Topra. Sultan Firuz in person accompanied the boats all the way to Delhi. These boats were so big that these otherwise were used to transport 5000 maundswounds of grain by river to various destinations. Pillars were re-erected at Firuzabad. In order to re-erect the pillars, ropes made of silk, weighing more than 10 maunds, were used with the help of wooden wheels. One end of the rope was tied to the pillar while the other end was tied to the wheel. Each wheel was operated by a few thousand persons who put all their strength together when rotating it. As the pillar was lifted up about half a yard, wooden logs were put to support it. These logs were made out of *Saindal* tree. Thus putting up the logs went on till the pillar was upright and was placed in new place. The pillar was smooth (undamaged) and straight, when it was placed into the new place (Firuzabad). When the pillar was erected, on top of it there were a few pieces of black and white marble. These were joined by zinc fillings up the joints. Gold leaves covered the whole top called *kalas*. The length of the pillar was 30 *gaz*, 6

³¹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 305-09; (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 126-28.

gaz of it was underground, while 24 *gaz* was above the ground.³²

Many more structures were erected throughout Haryana during the study period. They were scattered at Sohana, Jhajjar, Hissar, Narnaul, Hansi, Panipat, Thanesar, Karnal, Kaithal, Sadhaura, Pinjaur, Rohtak, Mahim, Rewari, Palwal, Hodal, Gharaunda etc.

Sohana, located under the shadow of Arawali hills by the Delhi-Jaipur road, has number of tombs, mosques, *sarais*, and other structures.³³ The Sila Kund at the foot of perpendicular rock is one of the secular buildings famous for sulphur springs³⁴ believed to have been constructed in the fourteenth century, however, it has been subjected to subsequent alterations and repairs.³⁵ The other structures include Kala Gumbad and Lal Gumbad built sometime before 1570 A.D. and an eighteenth century fort on the brow of the hill.³⁶ Jhajjar had numerous tombs built of *Kankar* stone which were obtained locally are constructed in Pathan style.³⁷ Narnaul, a *sarkar* headquarters, in south Haryana has numerous tombs. One of them was of Ibrahim Khan built by Sher Shah Suri.³⁸ This structure is massive and was constructed under the supervision of Shaykh Ahmad Niyazi. During Akbar's time Shah Kuli Khan built splendid buildings,

³² *ibid*, pp. 309-12 and (tr.), *Turk Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 127-28.

³³ H.A. Phadke, *Haryana: Ancient and Medieval*, Delhi, 1990, p. 218.

³⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p.514 and *Gurgaon District Gazatteer*, 1910, A volume, pp.145-47.

³⁵ H.A. Phadke, *op.cit.*, p. 218; 'Haryana Heritage', *Marg*, XXVII, no.4, September, 1974, pp. 41-42.

³⁶ *ibid.*, and 'Haryana Heritage', *Marg*, XXVII, no.4, p. 23.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ *ibid*, pp. 218-19; Subash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments of Punjab and Haryana*, Delhi, 1988, pp. 30-31.

tanks, gardens (*Arman-i-Kausar*)³⁹ at Narnaul. These buildings include Jal Mahal,⁴⁰ Jami mosque,⁴¹ Chor Gumbad,⁴² tomb of Shah wilayat and Chatta Mukund Das.⁴³ Similarly, Hansi which had a pre-Turkish fort also consists of structures like Chahar Qutub,⁴⁴ Barsi gate,⁴⁵ Raudah,⁴⁶ Baradari⁴⁷ etc. Panipat is another place where hectic construction activity was carried out. It has tombs of Abu Ali Shah,⁴⁸ Ibrahim Lodhi,⁴⁹ Muqarr Khan,⁵⁰ Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan⁵¹ and others, mosque of Abu Ali and a water tank. An in known as *Badshahi sarai* is about 8 kms from the town of Panipat, which is now in ruins.⁵² Thaneshar had structures like Pathariya Masjid⁵³ and the Chiniwali Masjid,⁵⁴ tombs of Shaykh Jalaluddin⁵⁵ and Shaykh Chehali,⁵⁶ the Madarsa⁵⁷ etc. Monuments at Kaithal⁵⁸ include tombs of Shaykh Sahah-ud-din Balkhi, Abdur Rashid Shah Walayat and Shah Jamal, the Jama Masjid and the mosque of Taiyab. Pinjaur has gardens

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 219 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 44-45.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ *ibid.*; Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.220; M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, pp. 97-102.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 220-21 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 221.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² *ibid.*, Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-21.

⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 221-23 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-36, 41-42 and 45-46.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 222-23 and Subash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

constructed during seventeenth century under the guidance of Fidai Khan, the governor of Sirhind under Aurangzeb.⁵⁹ Other structures were: *sarai* at Gharaunda (located between Karnal and Panipat,⁶⁰ baolis at Narnaul and Mahim,⁶¹ bridges over *nallah* towards north of Faridabad on Delhi-Agra route,⁶² *sarai-pul* near Karnal,⁶³ *barapul* towards south of Delhi near Humayun's tomb,⁶⁴ *kos-minar* at various points along the Mughal trade route from Lahore to Agra via Delhi.⁶⁵

Thus, we have assessed that the construction of forts, palace, mosques, tombs, secular structures, *sarais*, bridges, *havelis*, markets, streets, etc. was carried out at *sarkar* and *pargana* headquarters and sometimes elsewhere. This left a considerable scope for the growth in masonry and which constituted stone-cutting, brick-making, lime-mortar making, construction, carving etc. It involved craftsman like stone cutters and carvers, brick-makers, iron-smiths, carpenters, master mason, unskilled labour for loading, animals like bullocks, ass etc. for carrying load. All these were gathered from the region and were sometimes fetched from Delhi or other places. By fourteenth century Delhi was a special centre of building industry and had excellent master craftsman.⁶⁶ The possibility of

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp.223-24 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-17.

⁶⁰ Subash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp.20-21.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

⁶² *Mirat-ul-Alam*, f. 252, cf. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p.13, *Chahar Gulshan*, f.137 b, cf *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p.13; Monserrate, *The Commentary...*, p.98.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 119 and 223. Also see Carr Stephens, *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 209-10.

⁶⁵ Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Irfan Habib and Tapan Ray Chaudhari, *CEHI*, I, p. 81.

calling Delhi's craft master can not be ruled out for the construction purpose in the region.

Wood which was available in Haryana region can be considered of use. It was either used for construction purpose (limited), for furniture making, for wood carving for making tools in the masonry craft. *Ain-i-Akbari* records variety of wood used in masonry work,⁶⁷ some of the varieties were brought from far off places. It would have been a costlier item and was used as luxury. Haryana region reports to have Khizrabad as a timber mart during Mughal times.⁶⁸ Our sources are silent on the collection of wood. It can be assumed that the wood was brought from the hills and the forests of the present Himachal Pradesh. Timber mart of Khizrabad definitely served as an asset to the Mughal state. Khizrabad, located near the frequented trade route⁶⁹, had excess to river Yamuna as well. It is also probable that the wood was transported towards Delhi, Agra and other places, along the river way. The wood was used for making carts, *palanquis*, home furniture etc.

The other minor craftsmanship associated with masonry work was iron smithy. The products included clamps, nails, door-knockers, rings etc.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 233.

⁶⁸ Munshi Malikzadah, *Nigarnama-i-Munshi* (lithographed), Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 1882, p.146 as cited in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheet 4B and p. 13.

⁶⁹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 52-106.

⁷⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 168-69 and (tr.) I, pp. 233-35. Also see A.J. Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India : The Evidences from Paintings*, Delhi, 1988, pp. 16-18.

The manufacture of textiles was perhaps the largest craft production activity carried out during medieval period. It included the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen stuff and silk products. *Ain-i-Akbari*⁷¹ records the production of cotton all over the region which suggests that the region's cotton was brought to market for sale. Besides local consumption it was sent to nearby places. Delhi, Panipat, Samana, Sirhind can be the possible centres. However, in absence of evidence nothing can be said with surety. Possibility of procuring wool existed from the adjoining settlements in the Alwar sub-region of Rajasthan Province, where sheeps were reared. Silk-Production was not at all carried out, however, silk products remained the imported item and were possibly consumed only by the upper classes (nobility and rich *zamindars*).

Our sources record only two places in Haryana region as centre of cloth production. One was at Panipat and the other at Thanesar. Panipat during seventeenth century was a large town and manufactured white cloth of the length and width of the Samana cloth.⁷² The cloth was carried to Sirhind for sale⁷³ which had access to international market. The products from Sirhind were carried to Central Asia by Persian and Armenian merchants.⁷⁴ The other centre reported in the region is Thanesar where the fabric was woven.⁷⁵ Owing to its location on the major trade route, it can be

⁷¹ *ibid.*, (tr.) II, pp. 105-07 and 115-17.

⁷² *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p.135.

⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, II, (ed.), M. Ishaque, Calcutta, 1963, p.461; Cf. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Shee 4B and p. 13.

said that it was not only fulfilling the requirements of traders, travelers enroute but was catering to the region's demand as well.

Panipat is also reported to have calicoes, muslin and cords.⁷⁶ The available information does not reflect whether these were manufactured or collected from other places for distribution purposes. But there is a strong possibility due to the absence of any large cloth production centre in the region that it was receiving cloth from Delhi, Samana, Sarhind, Lahore, Agra and elsewhere. The cloth of Samana was popularly known as *Semianes, Samanas, Seminaoes, Symeanoes and Semijanes, Chowtar etc.*,⁷⁷ in those days. It would have definitely found market within Haryana region.⁷⁸ However, we do not find any concrete evidence regarding it, but it is definite that the cloth was available at Agra⁷⁹ and had traversed through the Haryana region towards Agra. Similarly, according to Thevnot – 'all sorts of *chintz* was manufactured at Lahore'.⁸⁰ The Lahore cloth would have also been another type of textile product available in the region's market. Finally one can infer that though much cloth production activity was not carried out in Haryana region, its needs were catered by the products of other centres in the surroundings through the trade along its eastern boundaries.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 463; Steel and Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, p.267; *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

⁷⁷ *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, pp. xxi, 168 and 181. Also see S.P. Sangar, 'Samana Cloth in the Seventeenth Century', *PPHC*, Patiala, 174, pp.29-35.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, pp. xxi and 168.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Indian Travels of Thevnot and Careri*, p. 85.

Other non-agrarian activities constituted gold-smith work, leather work, glass work, brass work etc. However, no evidence is available indicating these crafts of having any reputation. They were carried out for fulfilling local needs. *Ain-i-Akbari*⁸¹ records about glass-work being carried out in Alwar sub-region. As Alwar sub-region do not constitute the territory of present Haryana Province and moreover, we does not have any evidence showing that in any way the Haryana region was benefited, therefore this activity can not be taken into account. However, the possibility of transport of glass items to places like Sirhind, Panipat, Thanesar, Hissar, Narnaul, Rewari, Rohtak, Delhi cannot be ruled out.

Besides these, the region acquired expertise in production of agricultural and pastoral produce. The region in this area actually acquired fame and generated good amount of economic potential. The references available to us are regarding sugar and indigo. The one was the sweetening agent and the other used for dyeing the cloth in textile industry. Mahim which is located in 'proper Haryana tract' was the production centre of candied and refined sugar.⁸² It remained the export item.⁸³ Mahim had excelled itself in this product since sixteenth century. However, the sugar-cane production is reported in fabulous quantity since mid-fourteenth century.⁸⁴ Delhi attracted the product of Mahim largely. However, it was

⁸¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 442 and (tr.), II, p. 192.

⁸² *ibid.*, I, p.527 and (tr.), II, p.300; *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*; (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

⁸³ *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

⁸⁴ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 125 ad (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 75.

available at places like Hissar, Hansi, Sirsa, Fatahabad, Rohtak, Narnaul, Rewari, Panipat, Karnal, Thanesar, Sonapat etc.

Regarding indigo dye which was obtained from Mewat sub-region⁸⁵ (south Haryana), our sources are relatively silent but the existence of cloth production centres at Thanesar and Panipat suggests its usage otherwise. It mainly remained an export item. *Ain-i-Akbari*⁸⁶ through its *dastur* rates indicates cultivation of indigo in the region and thereby, its availability throughout Haryana territory. We have reference to Mewat indigo's transport to other places by Pelsaert but as it was of inferior quality its demand in European market was limited⁸⁷ in comparison to that of Bayana or Sarkhej.

The region evidenced exclusive horticulture activity. Increased horticulture potential has been reported since mid-fourteenth century. Firuz Shah laid down number of gardens which comprised of numerous plants. The places where the gardens were laid down are reported in Hissar-i-Firuzi and in its *shiqq* territory,⁸⁸ Salura,⁸⁹ Khizrabad⁹⁰ etc. The tradition of establishing garden continued throughout our study period. The other places where the gardens were laid down are Panipat, Hansi, Narnaul, Kaithal, Thanesar, Sonapat, Rohtak, Sirsa, Rewari, Pinjaur etc. The gardens produced flowers and fruits however, their usage is not

⁸⁵ Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India* (tr.), p. 15.

⁸⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 105-07 and 115-17.

⁸⁷ Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, (tr.), p. 15.

⁸⁸ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128 and (tr.) *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 295-96; (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 122-23.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

specified except for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have reference to rose cultivation at Pinjaur laid down by Fidai Khan.⁹¹ According to Sujan Rai forty *man Alamgiri* (2,950 lb avdp) roses were collected daily in spring season.⁹² These were presumably used for extraction purpose of rose-water.⁹³

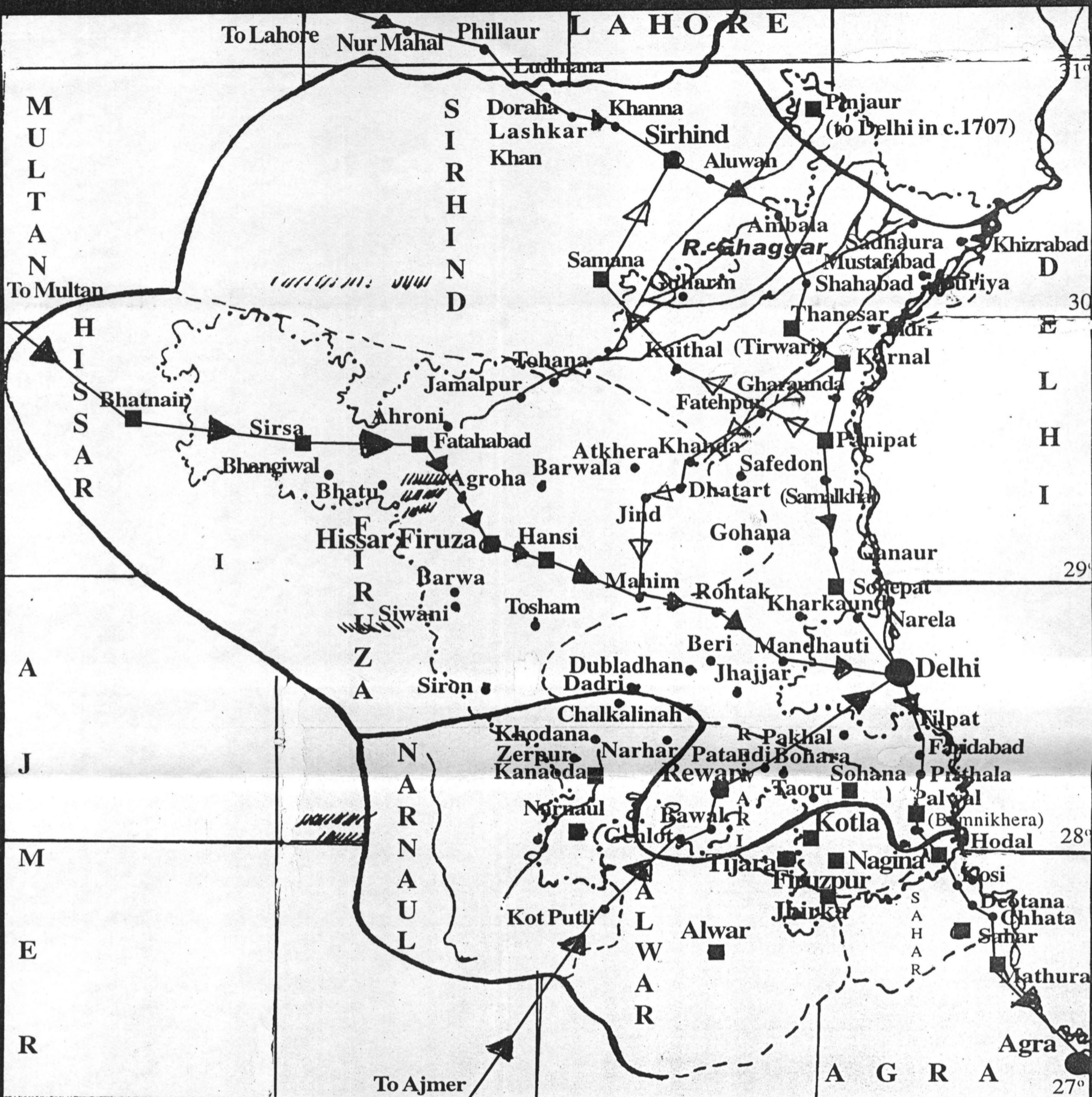
Our sources provide limited information on trade, trade organisation etc. related to small urban centres unlike Agra, Delhi, Ahamdabad, Bengal, Surat etc. The economic survey of the region reveals two type of transaction. One was at the horizontal level i.e. between different regions and other at vertical level between the villages, *qasbas* and *shahars* of the region. The exchange of commodities was carried out either in regular markets or in markets held at intervals in *qasbas* or villages. It is an established fact that the region had been traversed frequently for two purposes: military and trade. Settlements enroute benefited from the frequency of travel along these routes. Here, we are concerned more with the trade routes.

The major routes that emerged during the study period passed through Delhi and Agra which were then major trade centres beside being the political centres. The routes connected them with Kabul, Kandhar, Uchch, Multan and Lahore. The region evidenced two main routes which

⁹¹ Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, (tr.), *India of Aurangzeb*, p. XXXVIII.

⁹² *ibid.*, Zafar Hasan, p.35.

⁹³ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p. 13.



74° Scale 1:2000,000 75°
 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 Kms
REFERENCE

**HARYANA: Routes
 14th to Mid - 18th Century**

Suba Boundary	— — — — —
Sarkar Boundary	- - - - -
Haryana Boundary	~ . ~ . ~ . ~
Suba HQs	●
Shahars	■
Qasba	•
Rivers	~~~~~
Forest	////
Desert	\\

Index	
Routes (Major)	—▶▶—
Routes (Minor)	—◁◁—

remained prominent. The first route that finds frequent mention in pre-Mughal sources passed through Ajodhan, Bhatnair (present Hanumangarh), Sirsa, Hansi, Mandhauti and reached Delhi.⁹⁴ Another route was from Multan to Lahore and from there to Delhi via Sirhind, Shahabad, Thaneshar, Karnal, Panipat, Sonapat, Narela. This extended towards Agra via Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal, Mathura.⁹⁵ The minor and major centres along the frequented routes served as halting stages, collection and distribution centres. The small urban centres in the region were linked to larger urban centres along the primary routes through secondary and tertiary routes. We find stray references for secondary and tertiary routes. However, it should not be understood that there were no transactions between semi-nodal and minor centres. Instead it should be considered cautiously that such linkages existed but do not find reference in Persian chronicles or travelers' accounts because the information provider was more interested either in administrative centres, centres of collection and distribution, halting places, international trade or anything peculiar. The routes reference available to us throughout the study period refers to the places which were either halting stages or important urban settlements of the region. The names which occur frequently in our sources are Ambala, Shahabad, Thanesar, Karnal, Gharauṇḍa, Panipat, Ganaur, Sonapat,

⁹⁴ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), pp. 12-24.

⁹⁵ Monserrate, *The Commentary...*, pp.95-108, and 92-98; William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.) W. Foster, pp.155-61; Delaet, *The Empire of Great Mogul*, (tr.), pp.47-51; Steel and Crowther in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, pp. 267-68; Manrique, *Travels...*, pp. 180-84; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, pp. 85-86; *Chahar Gulshan*, (tr.) *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. XCVII – XCVIII.

Narela (Delhi), Prithala, Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal on the Delhi-Lahore route. The others on Delhi-Multan route are Sirsa, Fatahabad, Agroha, Hissar, Hansi, Mandhauti, etc., respectively. There were other secondary and tertiary routes as well in the region. However, these do not find mention in the contemporary sources but reference to them is available in the later sources. The later sources reveals that the major routes mentioned in the contemporary sources continued to exist in the later times as well. A survey study by Usha Agarwal traces these routes from c.1550- c.1850 for the Haryana region,⁹⁶ which is summarised below:

Table 3.1

Table Showing the major and minor centres on the Delhi-Lahore Route lying in Haryana Territory.

DELHI-LAHORE ROUTE c.1550 – c.1850.

Primary Route Stages	Eastern		Primary Route Stages	Western	
	Secondary Route Stages	Tertiary Route Stages		Secondary Route Stages	Tertiary Route Stages
Delhi		Badli Azadpur Alipur Narela.	Delhi		Magholpur Nangloi Mundka Bhadurgarh Mandhauti Rohad Sampla Khirwar Paharwar

⁹⁶ Usha Agarwal, *Historical Route Network*, ICCSR-CSR/D/JNU project, Delhi, 1985, (unpublished), pp. 8-56.

Sonepat			Rohtak	
	Ganaur			Gaddikhera
	Smalkha			Madina
				Kharkhaur
Panipat		Nizampura	Mahim	
	Gharaunda			Mundahal
				Sirkhi
				Dhana
				Kalan
		Kutail	Hansi	
		Kambhipur		
Karnal		Baldi	Hissar	
		Jhunghori		
		Shiamgarh		
	Tirwari	Nlilokheri	Agroha	
		Batana	Fatahabad	
		Raipur		
		Samana		
		Chandra-		
		bhanpur		
		Pulwal		
		Sunderpur		
Thanesar				Raipur
				Ram Tirath
				Talawandi
				Kot Shamir
	Shahabad	Lardi		
		Manhari		
		Jandla		
Ambala			Bhatinda	
To			To	
Lahore			Lahore	

Source: Usha Agarwal, *Historical Route Network*, pp. 8-24.

One more route that finds mention in the contemporary sources joined Ajmer to Delhi and Agra and passed through southern territory of Haryana via Rewari, Pataudi etc.⁹⁷

The Routes that emerged in the region were located all along cultivated lands and were flanked by trees which provided relief to the travelers.⁹⁸ We trace the existence of *sarais*/rest houses along these routes through stray references of European travelers.⁹⁹ Unfortunately Cunningham's *Archaeological survey of India Reports* have not been of much help to us, as these have not listed any such structures for our region. The information available to us regarding the construction of the individual *sarais* nowhere clearly indicates that who was responsible for their construction, whether it was state or the individuals or the people in the locality or were constructed out of the need to handle the heavy traffic along the most promising trade routes. However, the comment of Manrique, in general¹⁰⁰, can give us some insight to the issue that who actually contributed to the construction of *sarais*. According to Manrique, '... the majority of *caramossoras* (*caravan sarai*) are some times constructed at the cost of surrounding villages, some times with the donation of princes or wealthy and powerful individuals who hoped thus to immortalise their name and alleviate

⁹⁷ *Chahar Gulshan*, (tr.), *India of Aurangzeb*, p.175.

⁹⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp.7-8; Major David Price, *Memoirs of Emperor Jahanghir Written By Himself*, London, 1829, pp. 8-9.

⁹⁹ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.), W. Foster, pp.155-60; De Laet, *The Empire of Great Mogul*, (tr.), pp. 47-51; Monserrate, *The Commentary...*, pp. 95-108 and 92-98; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, pp. 35-86.

¹⁰⁰ Manrique, *Travels...*, II, pp. 100-101.

their conscience. The fact remains that the *sarais* / rest houses were constructed for the stay of travelers who were on long journey primarily for trade purposes. These *sarais* not only provided them shelter but also safety'.¹⁰¹

The places where the existence of *sarais* are traceable along the major trade route passing through our region are Hodal, Palwal, between Faridabad and Delhi, Gharaunda, a place between Karnal and Panipat. This small number do not rule out the possibility that in many of the settlements located on the main trade route, similar structures were constructed which were destroyed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and when Cunningham's team surveyed the region it could find no trace of them.¹⁰² Yet, some details noticed during a survey of existing structures can help us to understand the functions of *sarais* in the region.¹⁰³

Iqtidar Alam Khan with a team on Delhi--Lahore – Agra route¹⁰⁴ surveyed some twenty two surviving structures. Out of these only three structures were spotted in the Haryana territory. They were *Sarai* Hodal,

¹⁰¹ Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, p. 89. For details on the usage of check posts/*sarais* etc. See A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977; Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures', *IHR*, XIV, nos. 1-2, 1985, p. 118-37; Tapan Ray Chaudhari and Irfan Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, pp. 354-56, Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰² For instance *Sarai* Gharaunda was destroyed by the English forces during 1857. See C.J. Rodgers, *Revised Lists of the objects of Archaeological Interest in Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p.58 as cited in Subhas Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁰³ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, 1985, pp.118-37.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 117.

Sarai Palwal and Mughal *Sarai* (between Karnal and Panipat) at Gharaunda. These were constructed some time during the reign of Akbar and Shahjahan. The area of these *sarais* is listed here which is based on the above field work in Table 3.2

Table 3.2
Caravan *Sarais* in Haryana Territory

<i>Sarais</i> along the Agra-Delhi Lahore route	Area of the country and if <i>sarais</i> in Sq. mts.	No. of rooms		Size of rooms in sq. mts.	
		Ordinary room	Special room	Ordinary room	Special room
Haryana Region					
1. Mughal Sarai	109.40 x 87.48	80	2	9.2	28.84
2. Sarai Palwal	248 x 248	-	-	9.6	-
3. Sarai Hodal	146.50 x 146.50	-	-	-	-
Outside Haryana Region					
1. Sarai Nur	141.60 x 141.60	108	4	10.90	-
Mahal	148.90 x 140.20	112	2	10.89	-
2. Sarai Dakhini	96.7 x 96.7	110	3	10.89	-
3. Damdama Sarai	160 x 160	148	10	10.24	-
4. Sarai Chatta					

Source: Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Karawansaray of Mughal India*, *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, p.137.

The field work establishes that these *sarais* were either rectangular or square structures and also contained structures inside them. In a comparison of their courtyard with that of other *sarais* on the route, one finds that these could favourably match in size with the largest *sarais* located elsewhere. This study also gives us the ground plan of a few Mughal *Sarais*.¹⁰⁵ However, the survey is silent on *Sarai* Hodal and *Sarai* Palwal.¹⁰⁶ The area of the

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 132.

courtyards of the *Sarais* of Hodal and Palwal indicates that they must have been catering to the same amount of traffic as done by the Mughal Sarai or other *sarais* enroute. The Mughal Sarai between Karnal and Panipat consisted of 80 ordinary rooms and two special rooms. Each ordinary room had an area of 9.42 sq mts. and the area of special room was 28.84 sq. mts. For the *sarais* at Hodal and Palwal, we do not have the number of rooms in either of the categories. However, in *Sarai* Palwal the ordinary room was measured as 9.61 sq. mts.¹⁰⁷

The existence of accommodation available and other facilities in these structures, if compared with similar buildings in all likelihood, establishes them of huge size which can provide for storage of merchandise and resting place for personnel carriers and pack animals. Now taking both informations into account, it is fair to suggest that at one given point in time, huge *caravan* with substantial volume of goods could obtain accommodation in these *sarais*. Iqtidar Alam Khan has not mentioned the dates of the construction of these *Sarais*.¹⁰⁸ However, Captain Mundy places the construction of Mughal *Sarai* at Gharaunda during Shahjahan's regime by one Feroz Khan.¹⁰⁹ This is based on an inscription which is, however, not available as it is extinct.¹¹⁰ Earlier to Iqtidar Alam Khan's survey one Lieut.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Captain Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches, Being The Journal of a Tour in India*, I, London, 1832, p.105.

¹¹⁰ No mention to the said inscription is made by Iqtidar Alam Khan. Iqtidar Alam Khan prepared the ground plan for Mughal *Sarai* on the basis of inter dimension of revived structure. Also see Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p.21.

William Barr had visited the site on 25th June, 1839.¹¹¹ The photographic reproduction of main gate of *sarai*,¹¹² Lieut Barr's narrative¹¹³ and Iqtidar Alam Khan's construct of the entire structure,¹¹⁴ show that the Mughal *Sarai* was one of the largest structure of its kind and that its builder had spared no effort to provide adequate space and security for the travelers. However, the dilapidated building was completely destroyed by the British forces in 1857 as some participants in the revolt had taken shelter there.¹¹⁵

Further, if one surveys the major trade route (Agra-Delhi-Lahore) it will be observed that this Mughal *Sarai* was the only structure of its kind between Delhi and Sirhind within Haryana territory along the Delhi-Lahore route. It covered a distance of 580 miles¹¹⁶ and catered traffic during seventeenth century. There were numerous *sarais* beyond Sirhind towards Lahore and beyond Delhi towards Agra. For instance Iqtidar Alam Khan has

¹¹¹ William Barr, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar and Thence to Cabul*, London, 1884, pp. 14-15.

¹¹² See illustration no.12 and 14 in Subhash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in the Punjab and Haryana*.

¹¹³ 'We reached [Gharaunda] Garondal at 8'o clock, where our camp was pitched in a very pretty grove of date trees and not far from the village, which though merely a collection of mud huts can boast of possessing in its environs an extremely handsome caravan *sarai*. A lofty gateway, flanked on either side by very peculiarly constructed towers surmounted with cuplos, points out into entrance, its area being enclosed by a high embattled walls with bastions at its angles. The whole through built of a reddish free stone, is considerably dilapidated but the bastions more so than any other part,...'. William Barr, *Journal of March to Delhi...*, pp. 14-15.

¹¹⁴ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, p.128.

¹¹⁵ Charles J.Rodgers, *Revised lists of the Objects of Archaeological Interests in the Punjab*, p. 58.

¹¹⁶ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, pp. xiii; Also see A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977, Appendix II, pp. 216-218. (1 kos = 2½ miles).

spotted a cluster of *sarais* near Lahore at Doraha, Phillaur, Nurmahal, Nakodar, Sultanpur etc., at an average distance of 15 to 17.5 miles towards Kabul.¹¹⁷ Similarly between Delhi and Agra the spotted *Sarais* are 8 in number.¹¹⁸ They are near Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal Kosi, Chhata, Chaumukha, Azmabad and Mathura. On both directions the clusters of *sarais* is seen at an average distance of 15 to 30 miles. The question that arises out of the observations of fieldwork is that, whereas on both sides of Haryana region *sarais* were constructed at a convenient distance ranging between 15 to 30 miles.¹¹⁹ Same should have been the case in the route passing through Haryana. Mere absence of structure should not lead one to believe that a distance of 226 miles (between Delhi and Ambala) was covered without existence of such an important facility, especially when the trade and traffic through the region was frequent and voluminous. In some of the travelers accounts¹²⁰ and sources of the eighteenth century,¹²¹ we come across mention of few *sarais* in the region on this route. However, the data or period of the construction is not given in the sources. In all likelihood, these belong to the missing structures that we have deduced on the basis of the location of *sarais* at some average distance along the frequented route. There would be some 19 or 38 *sarais* along the Delhi – Lahore route. The European

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 216-17.

¹¹⁸ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, p.117.

¹¹⁹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 7-8 and Major David Price, *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir*, Delhi, 1904, pp.9 & 157.

¹²⁰ De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, pp. 47-55; Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, pp. 155-60.

¹²¹ Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route between Delhi and Cabul, 1797 AD', *The Punjab Past and Present*, vol.XII, I, no.23, April, 1978, pp. 15-28.

travelers accounts¹²² refer to the following *sarais*: *Sarai Baoli/Badli*, *Sarai Narela*, *Sarai Sonapat*, *Sarai Ganaur*, *Sarai Azmabad*, *Sarai Hajam* (Thanesar), *Sarai Shahabad*, *Sarai Aluwa*, *Mughal Sarai* at Sirhind, *Sarai Kohana*, *Sarai Lashkar*, *Sarai Phillaur*, *Sarai Nurmahal*, *Sarai Dakhani*, *Sarai Nakodar*, *Khan Khana Ki Sarai* and many others. Apparently many of these *sarais* met the same fate as that of the *Mughal Sarai* of Gharanuda due to the attitude of descendents of the person who had constructed them. Most of the buildings, used for all kind of purposes could not survive for want of care. *Sarais* were no exceptions. On this account Pelsaert's observations appear quite relevant:¹²³

...Nothing is permanent, yea, even the noble buildings – gardens, tombs or palaces, - which in and near every city one cannot contemplate without pity or distress, because of their ruined state. For in this they are to be despised above all the laziest nations of the world, because they build them with so many hundreds of thousands and yet keep them in repair only so long as the owners live and have the means. Once the builder is dead no one will care for the buildings; the son will neglect his fathers' work, the mother her son's, brothers and friends will take no care for each others buildings, everyone tries, as far as possible to erect a new building of his own, and establish his own reputation alongside that of his ancestors. Consequently it may be said that if all these buildings and erections were attended to and repaired for a century, the lords of every city, and even village, would be adored with monuments; but as a matter of fact the roads leading to the cities are strewn with fallen columns of stone.

¹²² De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, pp. 47-55; Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, pp.155-60; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (tr.) V. Ball, p.77.

¹²³ Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, (tr.), p. 56.

Thus, the location of *sarais* along the trade routes or in small town suggest continuous flow of traffic. In his discussion of, 'Account of the Provinces North and West of Agra', Pelsaert have observed as to how Agra was so well connected with Lahore and Multan.¹²⁴ Agra imported ormesines and carpets from Lahore, fruits from Kabul, asofoetide from Kandhar, gall nuts, opium, sulphur, white cotton goods etc. from Multan.¹²⁵ It exported spices, white cotton goods of Bengal and Golconda, quick silver, vermillion, coral, turbans, girdles all sort of silk goods of Ahamdabad, silk of Patna, lac, pepper, drugs etc. to Lahore.¹²⁶ Similarly, export items towards Multan were cotton, coarse yarn, Bengal cotton goods, turbans, prints, seed saler from Burhanpur.¹²⁷ All these items of export and import traversed through the Haryana territory. However, in the absence of any quantitative data regarding trade volume it is not possible to give the estimates of profits to the region through the long distance trade. It can be assumed that region was definitely earning some money by way of taxes called *rahadari*/toll tax,¹²⁸ services offered to the travelers in the *sarais* by skilled and unskilled labour,¹²⁹ supply of food, entertainment and other things.¹³⁰

The travel and transport along the trade routes would have been in bullock carts, camels, horses, *palanqis*, etc. People preferred to travel in

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.31.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications*, pp. 169-72.

¹²⁹ Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, p. 121.

¹³⁰ A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications*, pp. 103-04.

groups during the day time and halted in *sarais* at night. Absence of any big river in the region rules out the possibility of river transport. However, access to river Yamuna existed as it was not located at a far distance. The land transport was generally preferred. Loading and transport of goods was carried out through pack animals, bullock carts, horses, camels etc. The bullock carts were more convenient and economical as they did not require loading and unloading of goods at every major halt.¹³¹

Market centres have been the common and significant features of the urban settlements.¹³² Large urban settlements were marked by both permanent and temporary market centres. These centres remained the points of exchange through sale and purchase of agrarian and craft products and other items. At these centres general and specialised both types of items of trade were put to sale. The medieval sources provide various nomenclature to the market centres depending on their size, nature and location. According to the author of *Ardha-Kathanak* there were *bazaars*,¹³³ *mandis*,¹³⁴ *nakhasa*,¹³⁵ *katra*,¹³⁶ *hat*,¹³⁷ *peth*,¹³⁸

¹³¹ For details on bullock carts, their usage during medieval times in north India see, Jean Deloche, *Transport and Communication in India, Prior to Steam Locomotion*, I, pp. 255-273 and K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p.148.

¹³² M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1550-1707*, pp.1-2 & 138-47.

¹³³ Banarsidas, *Ardha-Kathanak*, (ed.), N.R. Premi, Bombay, 1957, cited in R.C. Sharma, 'Aspects of Business in Northern India in the Seventeenth Century', *PIHC*, 33rd Session, Muzaffarpur, 1972, p. 277; M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 138-167.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, (*mandi* was a whole sale market, usually for grains / *gallah mandi*).

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, (daily market).

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, (an enclosed market).

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.278.

¹³⁸ M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, p. 145.

*feri*¹³⁹ etc. The existence of regular market centres has been traced and discussed by scholars in case of larger urban centres/*shahars* like Agra,¹⁴⁰ Lahore,¹⁴¹ Delhi,¹⁴² Ahamdabad,¹⁴³ Surat,¹⁴⁴ etc. The possibility of similar market centres can not be ruled out in case of small urban centres in the Haryana region in the light of Tavernier's statement¹⁴⁵: '... even in smallest villages rice, flour, butter, milk, beans and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid, can be procured in abundance'. Haryana region had both small and medium size urban settlements and they had market centres, however, they were not as large as that of larger urban settlements.

In case of Haryana region it appears that the internal trade was more prominent, especially in agricultural commodities. Many of the settlements like Sirsa, Hansi, Rewari, Rohtak, Narnaul were important grain market centres. As stated above these centres were called as *mandis*.¹⁴⁶ These were the centres where commodities like corn, vegetables, rice, sugar, salt, etc. were sold. These *mandis* were named either after the founders name or the

¹³⁹ R.C. Sharma, 'Aspects of Business in Northern India', p. 278.

¹⁴⁰ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 150-51.

¹⁴¹ Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present*(whole book).

¹⁴² Nurul Hasan, 'The Morphology of a Medieval Indian City: A case study of Shahjahanabad', *The City in Indian: Urban Demography, Society and Politics*, Delhi, 1994, pp. 87-97.

¹⁴³ Gillion, Kenneth, L., *Ahemdabad, A Study in Indian urban History*, Ahamdabad, 1968 ; B.G. Gokhlae, 'Ahemdabad in the seventeenth Century', *IESHR*, XII, pt. I, Jan, 1969. pp.187-97.

¹⁴⁴ B.G. Gokhlae, *Surat in the Senteenth cntury: A Study in Urban History of Pre-Modern India*, Scandivian Institute of Asian Study, Monograph Series no.28, London, 1979.

¹⁴⁵ For instance during 14th century Sirsa produced good quality rice and it was sent towards Delhi; Ibn Batuta, *The Rehla*, (tr.) p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ R.C. Sharma, 'Aspect of Business in Northern India', *PIHC*, 33rd session, p.277.

chief commodity sold there. Few scholars¹⁴⁷ have attempted to understand the nature and functioning of grain markets in case of eastern Rajasthan and southern Haryana.

Madhvi Bajelkal¹⁴⁸ explores the 'local rural trade', and how the commodities moved out of locality (from rural settlements) to the 'hierarchy of markets', which in turn linked by chains of intermediaries and the flow of commodities and credit'. Her study makes us understand that how the state was dealing with the agricultural produce, how it was carried to the various markets, how the state was benefiting out of it and what was the attitude of grain merchants in the entire process. Similarly, Abha Singh¹⁴⁹ explores for three *parganas* of southern Haryana: Rewari, Bawal and Kotla regarding the state intervention in rural grain market, role of *jagirdars* as grain traders, nature of price fixation and sales etc. Both the studies look at the benefits and limitations of the rural trade. Their findings are somewhat similar in case of both the regions that the grains were largely sold within the *pargana* i.e. at the market centres of *pargana* headquarters which were centres of collection and distribution. The second possibility of selling of grain outside

¹⁴⁷ Madhvi Bajelkal, 'The State and the rural grain, market in the Eighteenth century eastern Rajasthan' in Sanjay Subramanyam, (ed.), Delhi, 1990, pp.91-120; Abha Singh, 'Joginder And the Rural Market in Haryana 17th and 18th centuries', Indian History Congress, 53rd session, Warangal, 1992-93, (cyclostyled copy), pp.1-15.

¹⁴⁸ Madhvi Bajelkal, The state and the rural grain market in eighteenth century eastern Rajasthan, pp. 90-91 & 99-117. Also see Dilbagh Singh, 'The Role of Mahajans with Rural Economy of Eastern Rajasthan During the 18th Century', *Social Scientist*, May, 1974, pp.

¹⁴⁹ Abha Singh, 'Jagirdar And The Rural Market in Haryana: 17th and 18th Centuries', pp.1-15.

pargana Kotla and *pargana* Bawal is studied by Abha Singh.¹⁵⁰ In this way the intra local trade was a special feature between rural settlements and *pargana* headquarters and between two different *pargana* headquarters or two urban settlements. It is, therefore, worth mentioning here that the *pargana* headquarters were the settlements of small or medium size and they played a vital role in collection and distribution of grains within Haryana region and outside, towards the imperial or provincial capitals. The possibility of such grain movement¹⁵¹ and specially *ghee* from Sirsa, Hansi and Hissar-i-Firuzi surrounding towards Delhi, Agra and Multan finds mention in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁵²

These studies also show that the sale of grains and other agricultural commodities were a seasonal feature and the medium size town/*qasba* market centres played a significant role. The agency to make the entire process of sale and purchase successful were the grain dealer-cum-merchants. The *qasba* market centres had grain merchants financiers and money changers. In other words they were the permanent features of these settlements. When the economy received impetus from various sectors many of such grain dealer-cum-merchants developed into moneylenders and shroffs (money changers).¹⁵³ They not only maintained their hold on *qasbas* / townships but also started participating in larger activities i.e. trading to

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁵¹ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), p. 23.

¹⁵² *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p.34 and (tr.), I, p.60.

¹⁵³ Satish Chandra, 'Some Aspects of Growth of Money Economy in India during 17th Century' *Studies in Asian History proceeding of Asian History congress, 1961*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 374,74.

larger urban centres and getting settled in the *shahar*. One such reference is available to us in case of Banarsidas's ancestors¹⁵⁴ who originally belonged to the district of Rohtak in Haryana. From village Biholi they shifted to Rohtak and thereafter to other larger town of northern India.

So far we have discussed the non-agricultural production, trade routes, *sarais* and markets in the region. The region comprised of both rural markets and urban markets in various settlements along the frequented trade routes, secondary routes and tertiary routes. The trade activity in the region was multi-dimensional. The one was horizontal i.e. intra local by nature¹⁵⁵ and the other was vertical which connected one region to the other or a *qasba* was connected in turn with large town which further had linkages with provincial and imperial capital. The vertical trade movement was part of external trade / international trade and the Haryana region contributed significantly though it could not make any separate identity as in case of Bengal, Gujarat etc.

The people who contributed to this vertical movement were the caravan traders (*banjaras*), merchants/traders from Khurasan, Multan, Central Asia, etc. Their movements have been recorded since twelfth century. The Caravan traders transacted in food grains (wheat, rice, millets, pulses), *ghee*, jaggery etc. They also carried along with them articles of daily need like salt and exercised considerable influence on the lives of rural and

¹⁵⁴ Banarsidas, *Ardha-Kathanak*, (tr.), Mukund Lath, Jaipur, 1981, p.2 &c.

¹⁵⁵ For 'intra-local trade' see TapanRay Chaudhari and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, pp. 325-27.

urban settlers.¹⁵⁶ The *banjaras* were the itinerant merchants, who moved in large carvans/*tandas*¹⁵⁷ and carried the goods on the back of their bullocks. In case of Haryana enroute distribution of products like rice and *ghee* by these traders can not be denied. Ibn Batutta has recorded Sirsa and its surroundings producing superior quality rice which was exported towards Delhi.¹⁵⁸ Similarly *Insha-i-Mahru* records the export of *ghee* towards Multan¹⁵⁹ and *Ain-i-Akbari* records its export towards Delhi and Agra.¹⁶⁰ This *ghee* was reportedly produced in Hansi-Hissar-i-Firuz sub region.¹⁶¹ Similarly Afif records about the Khurasani traders who were traveling along the Ajodhan-Sirsa-Hansi route between Multan and Delhi in fourteenth century.¹⁶² Since fifteenth century with the prominence acquired by Lahore-Delhi-Agra route via Sirhind – Ambala – Thanesar – Panipat, the region was frequented by merchants. However, these merchants showed much of their trading interest in the provincial and imperial capital or manufacturing centres. We lack specific reference in case of Haryana region for Khurasani, Multani or other Central Asian traders regarding the commodities in which they were interested. Specific informations are available regarding the settlements in which some kind of trading activities were carried out by

¹⁵⁶ For details on the *banjara*/caravan traders see Syed Aslam Ali, 'The Role of *Banjaras* in Indian Trade During the Seventeenth Century', History Seminar Series, no.2, Aligarh, 1984, pp.1-25.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), p. 23.

¹⁵⁹ *Insha-i-Mahru*, p. 71 as cited in H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 34 and (tr.), I, p. 60.

¹⁶¹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.

¹⁶² Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 124

European merchants. The European merchants showed their interest in indigo and saltpetre, coarse cloth, calicoes and Knives from Panipat, armours from Sonapat and few other things which are being discussed.

As stated earlier, the Mewat region in Southern Haryana produced indigo. The Dutch Factor, Pelsaert, who was an expert indigo buyer has reported about Mewat indigo.¹⁶³ Though he does not account for the volume of Mewat indigo trade, he informs about significant aspects. He informs us about comparative inferiority of Mewat-indigo to that of Bayana-indigo and also about its lower rate which was 20 rupees per maund. He informs about the trade of indigo all over Hindustan; its export which was not much and also the purchase of Mewat-indigo by the Dutch for trial purposes. A comparative study of the yield estimates provided by Palseart for three significant-indigo tracts is given below in the table :

	Indigo Production in Seventeenth Century			
	Favourable Years	Unfavourable Years	Average bales	Average in metric tons
Bayana tract	4000	2000	3000	300
Kol Khurja tract	1000	--	1000	100
Mewat tract	1000	--	1000	100

Source: Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 13-15.

The weight of one bale for Mewat tract was 4 maunds (*man-i-Akbari*) and one *man-i-Akbari* was 55.32 lb. avdp. The product of Mewat tract would be 221280 lb or 100.4 metric tons. This must have accounted for the value of 80,000 rupees approximately. The period for which Pelsaert was accounting,

¹⁶³ Pelsaert, *Jahanghir's India*, (tr.), p.15.

evidenced growth in indigo trade. Every European merchant, Armenians, etc. showed their interest in it and according to his estimates the trend of positive growth was to continue.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, one can speculate that through indigo trade this part of Haryana would have definitely benefited.

Salt-petre was another significant product of the Haryana region. Both European and Persian accounts throw significant light on it. Salt-petre was manufactured at Thanesar and it was sold for 7 or 7½ rupees for maund.¹⁶⁵ Beside Dutch Factors, the English Factors also showed their interest into it. However, we do not have any account of them trading in Thanesar's salt-petre but the mention of Thanesar salt-petre in the records of English Factories satisfactorily proves that it remained a significant product for them.¹⁶⁶ However, the rate given by Henry Borford is less than the rate given by Pelsaert for March, 1639 which was 6¼ rupee per maund.¹⁶⁷

Haryana region had also excelled in textile products; our sources indicate about the coarse variety of cloth produced at Panipat,¹⁶⁸ calicoes, Muslin etc. available from Panipat,¹⁶⁹ woven fabrics from Thanesar etc. The *English Factories* in India record about white cloth of Panipat which was same in length and breadth of the Samana cloth.¹⁷⁰ This cloth was sent to

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁶ *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, p. 134.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B and p. 13.

¹⁷⁰ *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, p. 134; For details on Samana cloth see *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, pp. 135 and 1624-29, p. 149.

Sirhind and Lahore for sale.¹⁷¹ Infact, Panipat has acquired the status of a textile centre in Haryana region during the medieval period. The other settlements discussed, however, also remained important production or distribution centres. These incurred good amount of wealth to artisans, traders and the state.

Horse-trade remained another significant activity. During pre-Turkish period Prithudaka/Pehowa remained chief centre of horse trade.¹⁷² However it is not recorded as horse trading centre in Sultanate or Mughal regime. But Haryana region remained significantly active in horse trade. Good quality of horses were brought from Multan to Delhi via Ajodhan-Sirsa-Hansi-Mandhauti till fifteenth century.¹⁷³ Later, Sunam (outside Haryana territory) and Mewat developed as horse breeding centres. It is not clear whether the region in any way benefited from horse trade. However it can be observed that there was a demand for the horses among the officials in the urban settlements and forces in the imperial contingents. The pockets of Haryana region also remained famous for cattles. Hissar-i-Firuz was enormously rich in that. However, the transactions in cattles are not recorded anywhere. It can be therefore presumed on the basis of *ghee* export

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.134.

¹⁷² For details see G. Buhler, 'The Peheva Inscriptions from the temple of Garibnath', *EI*, I, pp.184-90. This is a ninth Century inscription (882-83) which provides detail of a fair at Pehowa. The different animals especially horse were brought and sold. Also see B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India' in *IHR*, I, 1974. Delhi.

¹⁷³ *Insha-i-Mahru*, pp. 111 and 175 as cited in H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi*, p.113.

from this part to the capitals that this pocket was enormously rich and benefited as well.

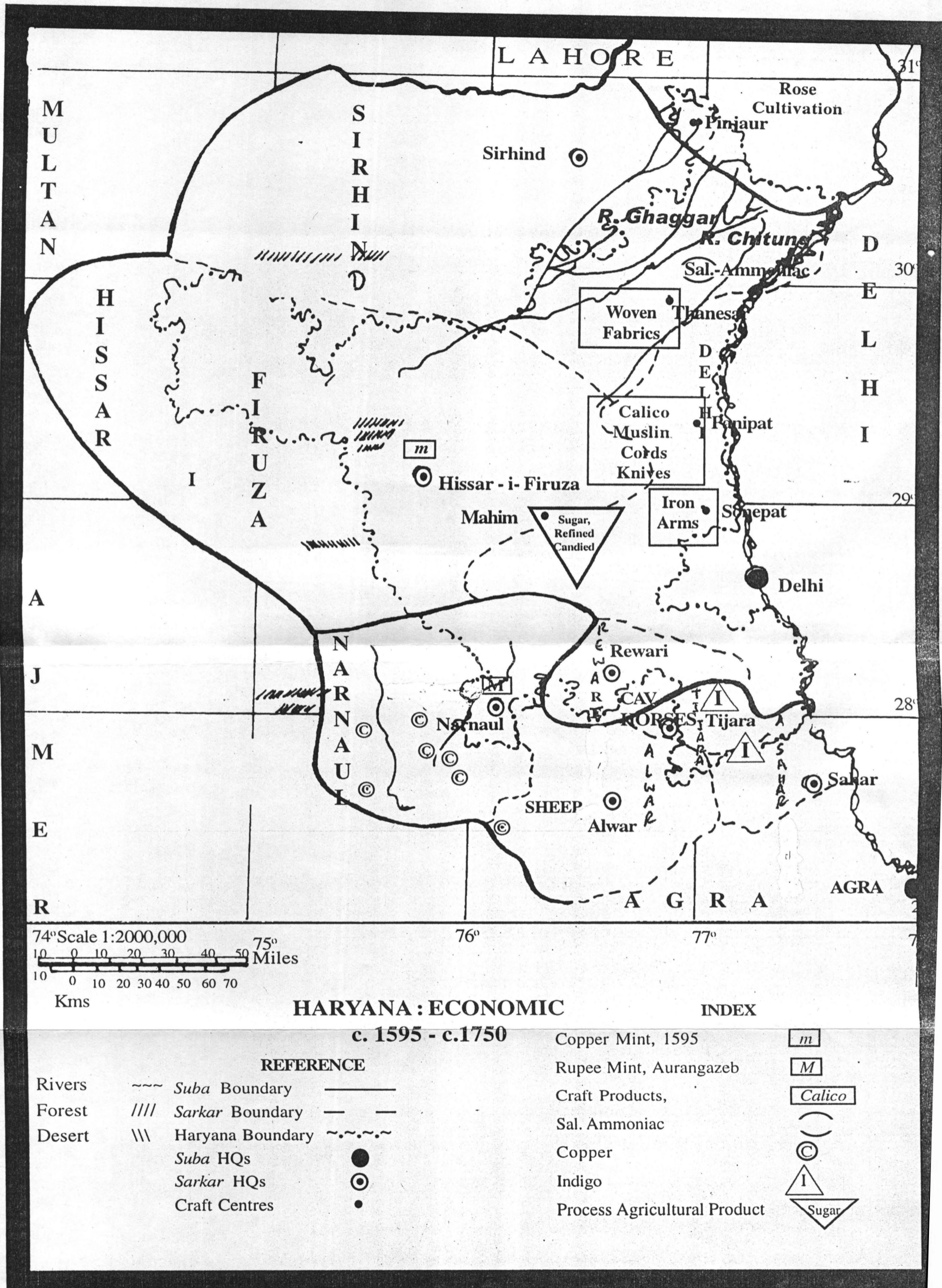
The whole of the discussion infers that the present Haryana territory remained generative and contributed to the economic growth of the region during medieval times.

CHAPTER III

NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND TRADE

We have discussed how the Haryana region was suitably placed both geomorphologically and strategically. It has also been evaluated that agriculturally it could emerge as an economically prosperous zone. The agrarian surplus, thus generated, vitally contributed to the growth of settlements; some of which acquired a larger role in collection and distribution of different commodities within and outside the region. In the process many settlements acquired the status of a *qasba* or a *shahar*. Our attempt will now be to look at the factors, other than the agrarian, that could be related with regions' economic growth and the process of urbanisation.

The sources provide limited evidence on craft-production and transit trade. In such a situation travelers account help in constructing a fairly accurate picture of non-agrarian activities within Haryana region. The European travelers and Asian merchants — Multanis, Khurasanis, Iranis etc., and others who visited the region in medieval times account for market centres, production centres, mode of production in limited manner and monetary transactions. Yet these accounts are not exhaustive and, thus, fail to provide complete information. These European travelers / merchants were interested only in few items like indigo, salt-petre, sugar, textile etc. As a consequence their accounts sometime provide information on the availability of these products, organisation of trade, price - movements, working of



financial institutions, transport system, and at times about the related people: their life conditions, wages etc. Their accounts are largely silent on the other craft production and such non-agrarian activities that did not form part of their trade interest.

Important copper mines were located adjacent to the south-western boundary of Haryana region. Presently it forms part of Rajasthan State.¹ The associated places are Toda Bhim, Bairat, Singhana, Udaipur, Raipur and Kot Putli.² For the Sultanate period it is not possible to associate them with any of the known divisions / *iqta*. These being outside the political control of the Sultans of Delhi is equally unknown. For pre- Mughal times, we do not come across any information on copper mining altogether, yet acceptance by Abul Fazl³ of developed mining activity could be taken to indicate that extraction and refining of copper was in progress when Mughals assumed power. In the Mughal times these formed part of Agra *suba* till the middle of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, these were transferred to *suba* Delhi.⁴ Though we do not have any data regarding the production and related benefits but it will be a fair assumption that Haryana region derived some professional and monetary advantages.

¹ *National Map of India*, VIII, pl. no. 275.

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 442 and (tr.), II, pp. 192-93.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 422 and (tr.), II, p. 192.

⁴ Anonymous, *Dasturul-Amal-i-Alamgiri*, Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 6599, ff.109 a-b as cited in K.K. Trivedi, *Agra : Political and Economic Profile*, p. 22 and *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p. 13.

Two urban settlements Hissar-i-Firuz and Narnaul (both *sarkar* headquarters) served as mint towns in the region since the times of Akbar and remained so till the times of Aurangzeb.⁵ The existence of minting facility suggests that in the above mentioned settlements, a fair amount of population was engaged in activities associated with the minting process. The officials who occupied supervisory positions enjoyed comparatively high status in these establishments.⁶ The Mughal establishments to supervise minting of coins and use of copper in arms industry, along with attachment of ore rich areas with the central provinces, does suggest that the Mughal government exercised some kind of control over production and its use. Yet, large size of families⁷ conversant with copper utensil making in the region shows that availability of copper for domestic use was not denied. Reports about minting of silver coins at Narnaul are also available.⁸ This metal was obviously brought from elsewhere. The location of silver mint could possibly be to increase availability of silver coins in the region. We can not rule out

⁵ *ibid.*, I, p. 27 and (tr.) II, p. 32. Also see C.R. Singhal, *Mint Towns of Mughal Emperors of India*, Bombay, 1953, pp. 33-48; R.B. Whiteland, 'Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India', *JASB* (New Series), vol.8, no.11, 1912 and S.P. Taylor, 'List Complimentary to Mr. Whiteland's Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India', *Numismatic Supplement*, XXII.

⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), I, pp. 16-21.

⁷ Denzil Ibbeston, *Punjab Castes*, p. 317.

⁸ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheets 4B and p. 13; *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 442 and (tr), P. 192; P.L. Gupta, 'A Study of Mint Towns of Akbar', *Essays Presented to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar*, (ed.) H.R. Gupta, Hoshiarpur, 1958, p. 160.

the possibility that the Mughal government utilised the facilities and minting expertise to meet the demand for both types of coins.

Iron is not found in any locality of Haryana region. However, its use in making of agricultural and other implements can not be ruled out. The nearest places from where iron could have been brought were Gwalior and Narwar in Agra *suba* and Suket Mandi in Lahore *suba*.⁹ However, information about location of iron-smiths in rural as well as urban settlements is not difficult to find. Monserrate records, for the sixteenth century, that many manufactures of armours / weapons lived at Sonapat.¹⁰ Panipat, another major settlement, finds mention as major knife making centre.¹¹ This suggests that the iron-smiths in this part of Haryana (eastern) had excelled in iron craftsmanship.

Salt-petre/Sal-ammoniac is a significant mineral product of the Haryana region recorded during contemporary times. Though it is traceable in different pockets of Haryana region, the contemporary accounts records the sal-ammoniac pits at Thanesar / Thaneshwar¹² in 'proper Haryana tract'.

⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 540 and (tr.), II, p. 321; George Watt, *The Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, IV, p. 511.

¹⁰ Monserrate, *The Commentary of His Journey to the Court of Akbar*, (tr.), Hoyland, Oxford, 1922, p. 95.

¹¹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B and p.13.

¹² Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 77; Pelsaert, *Remonstrance as Jahangir's India*, (tr.), p. 46; *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, p. 49; *The English Factories in India (EFI)*, 1637-41, W. Foster, (ed.), p. 134; William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, W. Foster (ed.), p. 158 and George Watt, *The Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, I, pp. 219-20.

Its manufacture has been widespread. It was used mainly for two purposes cooling of drinking water and manufacture of gunpowder.¹³ The European merchants showed their interest in its purchase due to its requirement for ballast in their ships.¹⁴ In search of salt-petre they visited the production centres and have thus recorded the manufacturing process. Peter Mundy has left most elaborate account of manufacturing of salt-petre at Agra and Ahamdabad.¹⁵ Pelsaert who has given the manufacturing account of *suba* Agra is, however, silent for Thanesar in our region. He probably was not aware of the manufacturing process of this centre. As the process was simple, and diffusion of knowledge was common¹⁶ we can presume that manufacturing process for Thanesar was same as that of Agra or Ahamdabad.

Based on Pelsaert's and Mundy's account we can reconstruct the manufacturing process of salt-petre.¹⁷ It was manufactured from nitrogenous organic matter and Potassium nitrate (KNO₂) deposits on the soil surface. According to Pelsaert, it was a sort of scum which was formed on the site of very old brick-kiln. This was dugged and purified by evaporation. It was also collected by scrapping the upper crust of the salt-earth. In order to

¹³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 51 and (tr.), I, p. 58; Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, pp. 76-77 and Bernier, *Travels of Mughal Empire*, pp. 356-57.

¹⁴ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p. 138.

¹⁵ Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, pp. 76-77.

¹⁶ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra, Economic and Political Profile*, p. 81.

¹⁷ Pelsaert. *Jhangir's India*, (tr.), p. 46 and Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, pp. 76-77

extract salt-petre out of nitrogenous organic matter / potassium nitrate, two shallow reservoirs either *pucca* (masonry) or *kuchha* (of mud walls) were constructed. These were of different plinth levels and were located adjacent to each other. The larger reservoir at a higher plinth was filled with salt-earth and later filled with water. It was thoroughly mixed in order to obtain thin and smooth paste. It was then left undisturbed for two days in order to be free of waste which get settled at the base. The water, then, was transferred to the lower reservoir and allowed to get settled. After required waiting period water was drained out and deposits were transferred into an iron pan and heated to remove the impurities at the bottom of jars. The jars were then broken and salt-petre thus obtained was then dried in sun heat.

The product of Thanesar was from all appearances consumed locally. None of the European establishments evidenced any interest in the Thanesar product. Delhi would have definitely benefitted by it as no other salt-petre source is reported in Delhi's locality. Also Delhi by this time had generated a great demand and, therefore, the product would have traversed on the frequented trade route via Sirhind – Thanesar – Karnal – Panipat – Gharaunda – Delhi – Faridabad – Palwal – Hodal – Mathura – Agra.¹⁸

The later accounts, *Gazetteers* and *Settlement Reports*, do record the manufacturing process, price, people's involvement, usage etc. According to

¹⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 52-106.

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several palatial buildings used as residences by the nobility, gardens, market streets, mosques, *madarsas*, tombs etc.²³

Though both Barani and Afif had accounted for these establishments, it is Afif who gives us details of construction activity, material used and also about the engineering skills. According to Afif, Hissar-i-Firuz was founded, two or three years after the return of Sultan Firuz Shah from Bengal at the site of two rural settlements -- Laras Khurd and Laras Buzurg, and when the city was constructed stone for its buildings were brought from Narasai hills and lime from Bakhor'.²⁴ The location of these two places is not identifiable. The construction activity included the fortification, construction of a big tank around the fortified area.²⁵ A survey of the city of Hissar-i-Firuz reveals that the location of old town was on the eastern side of present town of Hissar. The only surviving part of citadel is running on the eastern side of the Talaki gate.²⁶ Though the plan of Firuz Shah's streets are not clear, however, on the basis of the study of other medieval towns the following layout plans of the town had been suggested:

With a north west, south-east orientation passing by the eastern side of bazar masjid, and leading to the citadel, probably to the eastern gateway. The street was mainly flanked by shops and near the bazar masjid joined another market streets.²⁷

²³ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p.131 and (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 75-76.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.126 and (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

²⁶ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, p.19; A.B. Saxena, 'Hissar-i-Firuz: A Medieval Town of Haryana', *PIHC*, Calcutta, 1995, pp. 934-44.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.14.

The palace of Firuz Shah is situated on the north-western side of citadel, however only the ruins can now be observed. The surviving structures include north-western area of the palace with a gateway, the Lat ki Masjid and the four courtyards which are located in each direction.²⁸ A vivid description of the palace has been provided by Shams Siraj Afif.²⁹

...inside the fort they built a palace such that no one though he searched the world could find its like. There are several courts inside that palace. The audience hall was splendidly decorated. Innumerable innovations were used. One feature in this palace was that if someone with his wits about him came in, after passing through some of the courts, he would always end up in the centre. The central core of the palace was extremely dark, with narrow corridors, so that if the guards did not lead one, one could not find ones way out. They say that once a Chamberlain went in their alone. He was absent for several days, then the guards went in the took him out of the darkness.

Other existing grand structures of Firuz's time include Lat ki Masjid, Gujari Mahal, Garden Complex, Jhaaz Kothi etc. These buildings find usage of both bricks and stone. It is in Lat ki Masjid, where bricks had been used.³⁰ Hissar has post-Firuz Shah's buildings and complexes as well. The existence of large number of tombs however suggests thick muslim population besides the others.

Firuz Shah traced two pillars of Ashokan times in the Haryana region and got them transferred to Delhi. The large one was at a village

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 32-38 and 22-32.

²⁹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p.126 and (tr.) *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

³⁰ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, p. 37.

called Nawera in the district of Salura and the other at Topra near Khizrabad in Ambala district.³¹ Afif has given the details of the transfer of these pillars:

... these pillars were wrapped with bundles of the reed known as *ninerza* so that during taking down and transfer no damage is caused to them. Than these were lowered on big logs after loosening the base. Forty two animals dragged the ropes made of raw hide that were tied to the pillars. A few thousand persons put all strength together to perform this job of lowering the pillars to ground and placing it on logs. Then it was rolled and taken to the river bank to be transferred to big boats. These boats took it to Delhi from the village of Topra. Sultan Firuz in person accompanied the boats all the way to Delhi. These boats were so big that these otherwise were used to transport 5000 maundswounds of grain by river to various destinations. Pillars were re-erected at Firuzabad. In order to re-erect the pillars, ropes made of silk, weighing more than 10 maunds, were used with the help of wooden wheels. One end of the rope was tied to the pillar while the other end was tied to the wheel. Each wheel was operated by a few thousand persons who put all their strength together when rotating it. As the pillar was lifted up about half a yard, wooden logs were put to support it. These logs were made out of *Saindal* tree. Thus putting up the logs went on till the pillar was upright and was placed in new place. The pillar was smooth (undamaged) and straight, when it was placed into the new place (Firuzabad). When the pillar was erected, on top of it there were a few pieces of black and white marble. These were joined by zinc fillings up the joints. Gold leaves covered the whole top called *kalas*. The length of the pillar was 30 *gaz*, 6

³¹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 305-09; (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 126-28.

gaz of it was underground, while 24 *gaz* was above the ground.³²

Many more structures were erected throughout Haryana during the study period. They were scattered at Sohana, Jhajjar, Hissar, Narnaul, Hansi, Panipat, Thanesar, Karnal, Kaithal, Sadhaura, Pinjaur, Rohtak, Mahim, Rewari, Palwal, Hodal, Gharaunda etc.

Sohana, located under the shadow of Arawali hills by the Delhi-Jaipur road, has number of tombs, mosques, *sarais*, and other structures.³³ The Sila Kund at the foot of perpendicular rock is one of the secular buildings famous for sulphur springs³⁴ believed to have been constructed in the fourteenth century, however, it has been subjected to subsequent alterations and repairs.³⁵ The other structures include Kala Gumbad and Lal Gumbad built sometime before 1570 A.D. and an eighteenth century fort on the brow of the hill.³⁶ Jhajjar had numerous tombs built of *Kankar* stone which were obtained locally are constructed in Pathan style.³⁷ Narnaul, a *sarkar* headquarters, in south Haryana has numerous tombs. One of them was of Ibrahim Khan built by Sher Shah Suri.³⁸ This structure is massive and was constructed under the supervision of Shaykh Ahmad Niyazi. During Akbar's time Shah Kuli Khan built splendid buildings,

³² *ibid*, pp. 309-12 and (tr.), *Turk Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 127-28.

³³ H.A. Phadke, *Haryana: Ancient and Medieval*, Delhi, 1990, p. 218.

³⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p.514 and *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, 1910, A volume, pp.145-47.

³⁵ H.A. Phadke, *op.cit.*, p. 218; 'Haryana Heritage', *Marg*, XXVII, no.4, September, 1974, pp. 41-42.

³⁶ *ibid.*, and 'Haryana Heritage', *Marg*, XXVII, no.4, p. 23.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ *ibid*, pp. 218-19; Subash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments of Punjab and Haryana*, Delhi, 1988, pp. 30-31.

tanks, gardens (*Arman-i-Kausar*)³⁹ at Narnaul. These buildings include Jal Mahal,⁴⁰ Jami mosque,⁴¹ Chor Gumbad,⁴² tomb of Shah wilayat and Chatta Mukund Das.⁴³ Similarly, Hansi which had a pre-Turkish fort also consists of structures like Chahar Qutub,⁴⁴ Barsi gate,⁴⁵ Raudah,⁴⁶ Baradari⁴⁷ etc. Panipat is another place where hectic construction activity was carried out. It has tombs of Abu Ali Shah,⁴⁸ Ibrahim Lodhi,⁴⁹ Muqarr Khan,⁵⁰ Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan⁵¹ and others, mosque of Abu Ali and a water tank. An in known as *Badshahi sarai* is about 8 kms from the town of Panipat, which is now in ruins.⁵² Thaneshar had structures like Pathariya Masjid⁵³ and the Chiniwali Masjid,⁵⁴ tombs of Shaykh Jalaluddin⁵⁵ and Shaykh Chehali,⁵⁶ the Madarsa⁵⁷ etc. Monuments at Kaithal⁵⁸ include tombs of Shaykh Sahah-ud-din Balkhi, Abdur Rashid Shah Walayat and Shah Jamal, the Jama Masjid and the mosque of Taiyab. Pinjaur has gardens

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 219 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 44-45.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ *ibid.*; Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.220; M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, pp. 97-102.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 220-21 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 221.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² *ibid.*, Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-21.

⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 221-23 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-36, 41-42 and 45-46.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 222-23 and Subash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

constructed during seventeenth century under the guidance of Fidai Khan, the governor of Sirhind under Aurangzeb.⁵⁹ Other structures were: *sarai* at Gharaunda (located between Karnal and Panipat,⁶⁰ baolis at Narnaul and Mahim,⁶¹ bridges over *nallah* towards north of Faridabad on Delhi-Agra route,⁶² *sarai-pul* near Karnal,⁶³ *barapul* towards south of Delhi near Humayun's tomb,⁶⁴ *kos-minar* at various points along the Mughal trade route from Lahore to Agra via Delhi.⁶⁵

Thus, we have assessed that the construction of forts, palace, mosques, tombs, secular structures, *sarais*, bridges, *havelis*, markets, streets, etc. was carried out at *sarkar* and *pargana* headquarters and sometimes elsewhere. This left a considerable scope for the growth in masonry and which constituted stone-cutting, brick-making, lime-mortar making, construction, carving etc. It involved craftsman like stone cutters and carvers, brick-makers, iron-smiths, carpenters, master mason, unskilled labour for loading, animals like bullocks, ass etc. for carrying load. All these were gathered from the region and were sometimes fetched from Delhi or other places. By fourteenth century Delhi was a special centre of building industry and had excellent master craftsman.⁶⁶ The possibility of

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp.223-24 and Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-17.

⁶⁰ Subash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp.20-21.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

⁶² *Mirat-ul-Alam*, f. 252, cf. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p.13, *Chahar Gulshan*, f.137 b, cf *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p.13; Monserrate, *The Commentary...*, p.98.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 119 and 223. Also see Carr Stephens, *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 209-10.

⁶⁵ Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Irfan Habib and Tapan Ray Chaudhari, *CEHI*, I, p. 81.

calling Delhi's craft master can not be ruled out for the construction purpose in the region.

Wood which was available in Haryana region can be considered of use. It was either used for construction purpose (limited), for furniture making, for wood carving for making tools in the masonry craft. *Ain-i-Akbari* records variety of wood used in masonry work,⁶⁷ some of the varieties were brought from far off places. It would have been a costlier item and was used as luxury. Haryana region reports to have Khizrabad as a timber mart during Mughal times.⁶⁸ Our sources are silent on the collection of wood. It can be assumed that the wood was brought from the hills and the forests of the present Himachal Pradesh. Timber mart of Khizrabad definitely served as an asset to the Mughal state. Khizrabad, located near the frequented trade route⁶⁹, had excess to river Yamuna as well. It is also probable that the wood was transported towards Delhi, Agra and other places, along the river way. The wood was used for making carts, *palanquis*, home furniture etc.

The other minor craftsmanship associated with masonry work was iron smithy. The products included clamps, nails, door-knockers, rings etc.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 233.

⁶⁸ Munshi Malikzadah, *Nigarnama-i-Munshi* (lithographed), Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 1882, p.146 as cited in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheet 4B and p. 13.

⁶⁹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 52-106.

⁷⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 168-69 and (tr.) I, pp. 233-35. Also see A.J. Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India : The Evidences from Paintings*, Delhi, 1988, pp. 16-18.

The manufacture of textiles was perhaps the largest craft production activity carried out during medieval period. It included the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen stuff and silk products. *Ain-i-Akbari*⁷¹ records the production of cotton all over the region which suggests that the region's cotton was brought to market for sale. Besides local consumption it was sent to nearby places. Delhi, Panipat, Samana, Sirhind can be the possible centres. However, in absence of evidence nothing can be said with surety. Possibility of procuring wool existed from the adjoining settlements in the Alwar sub-region of Rajasthan Province, where sheeps were reared. Silk-Production was not at all carried out, however, silk products remained the imported item and were possibly consumed only by the upper classes (nobility and rich *zamindars*).

Our sources record only two places in Haryana region as centre of cloth production. One was at Panipat and the other at Thanesar. Panipat during seventeenth century was a large town and manufactured white cloth of the length and width of the Samana cloth.⁷² The cloth was carried to Sirhind for sale⁷³ which had access to international market. The products from Sirhind were carried to Central Asia by Persian and Armenian merchants.⁷⁴ The other centre reported in the region is Thanesar where the fabric was woven.⁷⁵ Owing to its location on the major trade route, it can be

⁷¹ *ibid.*, (tr.) II, pp. 105-07 and 115-17.

⁷² *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p.135.

⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, II, (ed.), M. Ishaque, Calcutta, 1963, p.461; Cf. *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Shee 4B and p. 13.

said that it was not only fulfilling the requirements of traders, travelers enroute but was catering to the region's demand as well.

Panipat is also reported to have calicoes, muslin and cords.⁷⁶ The available information does not reflect whether these were manufactured or collected from other places for distribution purposes. But there is a strong possibility due to the absence of any large cloth production centre in the region that it was receiving cloth from Delhi, Samana, Sarhind, Lahore, Agra and elsewhere. The cloth of Samana was popularly known as *Semianes, Samanas, Seminaoes, Symeanoes and Semijanes, Chowtar etc.*,⁷⁷ in those days. It would have definitely found market within Haryana region.⁷⁸ However, we do not find any concrete evidence regarding it, but it is definite that the cloth was available at Agra⁷⁹ and had traversed through the Haryana region towards Agra. Similarly, according to Thevnot – 'all sorts of *chintz* was manufactured at Lahore'.⁸⁰ The Lahore cloth would have also been another type of textile product available in the region's market. Finally one can infer that though much cloth production activity was not carried out in Haryana region, its needs were catered by the products of other centres in the surroundings through the trade along its eastern boundaries.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 463; Steel and Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, p.267; *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

⁷⁷ *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, pp. xxi, 168 and 181. Also see S.P. Sangar, 'Samana Cloth in the Seventeenth Century', *PPHC*, Patiala, 174, pp.29-35.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, pp. xxi and 168.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Indian Travels of Thevnot and Careri*, p. 85.

Other non-agrarian activities constituted gold-smith work, leather work, glass work, brass work etc. However, no evidence is available indicating these crafts of having any reputation. They were carried out for fulfilling local needs. *Ain-i-Akbari*⁸¹ records about glass-work being carried out in Alwar sub-region. As Alwar sub-region do not constitute the territory of present Haryana Province and moreover, we does not have any evidence showing that in any way the Haryana region was benefited, therefore this activity can not be taken into account. However, the possibility of transport of glass items to places like Sirhind, Panipat, Thanesar, Hissar, Narnaul, Rewari, Rohtak, Delhi cannot be ruled out.

Besides these, the region acquired expertise in production of agricultural and pastoral produce. The region in this area actually acquired fame and generated good amount of economic potential. The references available to us are regarding sugar and indigo. The one was the sweetening agent and the other used for dyeing the cloth in textile industry. Mahim which is located in 'proper Haryana tract' was the production centre of candied and refined sugar.⁸² It remained the export item.⁸³ Mahim had excelled itself in this product since sixteenth century. However, the sugar-cane production is reported in fabulous quantity since mid-fourteenth century.⁸⁴ Delhi attracted the product of Mahim largely. However, it was

⁸¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 442 and (tr.), II, p. 192.

⁸² *ibid.*, I, p.527 and (tr.), II, p.300; *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*; (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

⁸³ *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, (ed.), W. Foster, p. 134.

⁸⁴ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 125 ad (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 75.

available at places like Hissar, Hansi, Sirsa, Fatahabad, Rohtak, Narnaul, Rewari, Panipat, Karnal, Thanesar, Sonapat etc.

Regarding indigo dye which was obtained from Mewat sub-region⁸⁵ (south Haryana), our sources are relatively silent but the existence of cloth production centres at Thanesar and Panipat suggests its usage otherwise. It mainly remained an export item. *Ain-i-Akbari*⁸⁶ through its *dastur* rates indicates cultivation of indigo in the region and thereby, its availability throughout Haryana territory. We have reference to Mewat indigo's transport to other places by Pelsaert but as it was of inferior quality its demand in European market was limited⁸⁷ in comparison to that of Bayana or Sarkhej.

The region evidenced exclusive horticulture activity. Increased horticulture potential has been reported since mid-fourteenth century. Firuz Shah laid down number of gardens which comprised of numerous plants. The places where the gardens were laid down are reported in Hissar-i-Firuzi and in its *shiqq* territory,⁸⁸ Salura,⁸⁹ Khizrabad⁹⁰ etc. The tradition of establishing garden continued throughout our study period. The other places where the gardens were laid down are Panipat, Hansi, Narnaul, Kaithal, Thanesar, Sonapat, Rohtak, Sirsa, Rewari, Pinjaur etc. The gardens produced flowers and fruits however, their usage is not

⁸⁵ Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India* (tr.), p. 15.

⁸⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 105-07 and 115-17.

⁸⁷ Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, (tr.), p. 15.

⁸⁸ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128 and (tr.) *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 295-96; (tr.), *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 122-23.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

specified except for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have reference to rose cultivation at Pinjaur laid down by Fidai Khan.⁹¹ According to Sujan Rai forty *man Alamgiri* (2,950 lb avdp) roses were collected daily in spring season.⁹² These were presumably used for extraction purpose of rose-water.⁹³

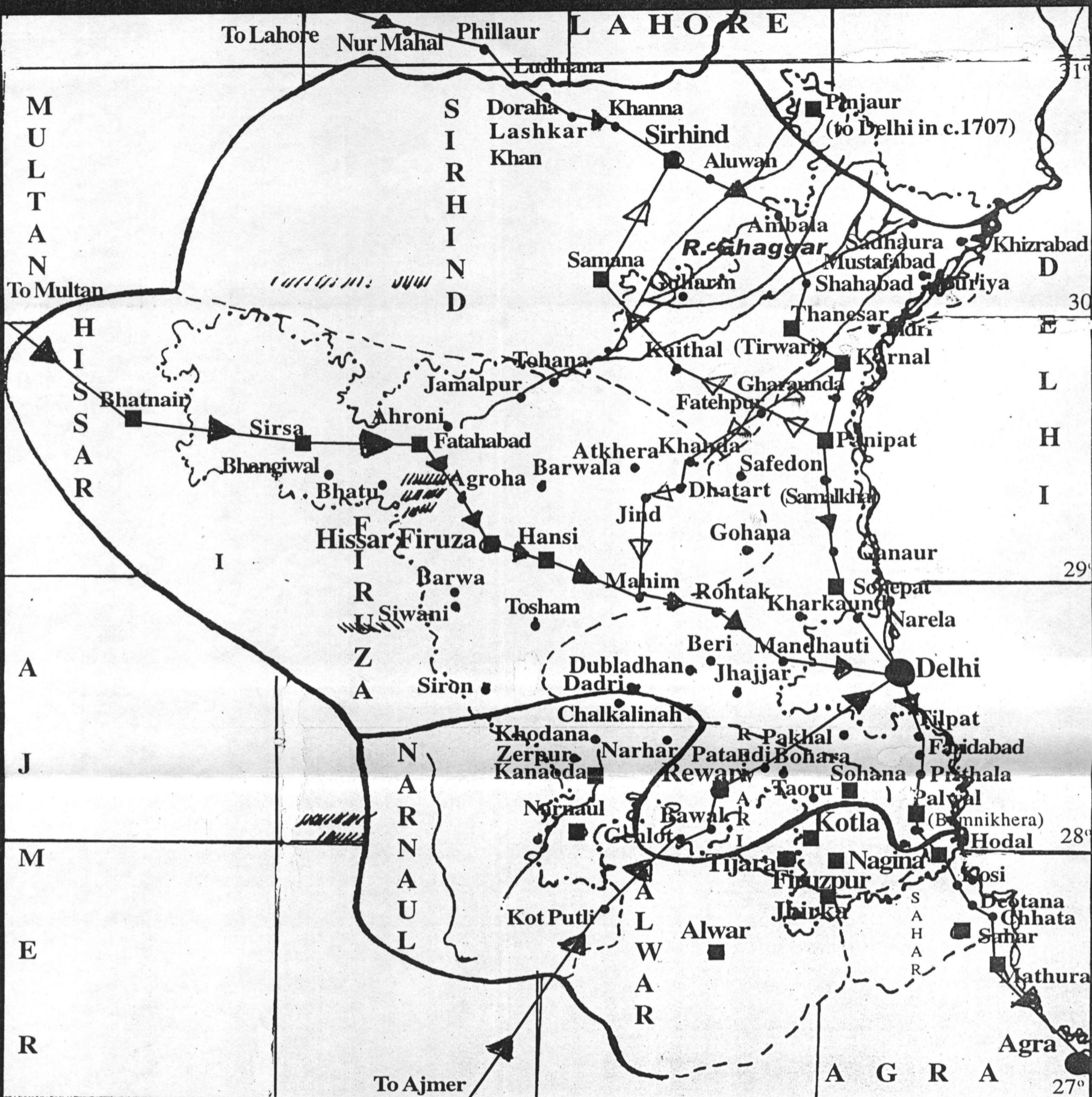
Our sources provide limited information on trade, trade organisation etc. related to small urban centres unlike Agra, Delhi, Ahamdabad, Bengal, Surat etc. The economic survey of the region reveals two type of transaction. One was at the horizontal level i.e. between different regions and other at vertical level between the villages, *qasbas* and *shahars* of the region. The exchange of commodities was carried out either in regular markets or in markets held at intervals in *qasbas* or villages. It is an established fact that the region had been traversed frequently for two purposes: military and trade. Settlements enroute benefited from the frequency of travel along these routes. Here, we are concerned more with the trade routes.

The major routes that emerged during the study period passed through Delhi and Agra which were then major trade centres beside being the political centres. The routes connected them with Kabul, Kandhar, Uchch, Multan and Lahore. The region evidenced two main routes which

⁹¹ Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, (tr.), *India of Aurangzeb*, p. XXXVIII.

⁹² *ibid.*, Zafar Hasan, p.35.

⁹³ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, p. 13.



74° Scale 1:2000,000 75°
 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 Kms
REFERENCE

**HARYANA: Routes
 14th to Mid - 18th Century**

- Suba Boundary ———
- Sarkar Boundary — — —
- Haryana Boundary ~.~.~.~
- Suba HQs ●
- Shahars ■
- Qasba •
- Rivers ~~~
- Forest ////
- Desert \\\

- Index**
- Routes (Major) —▶▶
 - Routes (Minor) —▷▷

remained prominent. The first route that finds frequent mention in pre-Mughal sources passed through Ajodhan, Bhatnair (present Hanumangarh), Sirsa, Hansi, Mandhauti and reached Delhi.⁹⁴ Another route was from Multan to Lahore and from there to Delhi via Sirhind, Shahabad, Thaneshar, Karnal, Panipat, Sonapat, Narela. This extended towards Agra via Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal, Mathura.⁹⁵ The minor and major centres along the frequented routes served as halting stages, collection and distribution centres. The small urban centres in the region were linked to larger urban centres along the primary routes through secondary and tertiary routes. We find stray references for secondary and tertiary routes. However, it should not be understood that there were no transactions between semi-nodal and minor centres. Instead it should be considered cautiously that such linkages existed but do not find reference in Persian chronicles or travelers' accounts because the information provider was more interested either in administrative centres, centres of collection and distribution, halting places, international trade or anything peculiar. The routes reference available to us throughout the study period refers to the places which were either halting stages or important urban settlements of the region. The names which occur frequently in our sources are Ambala, Shahabad, Thanesar, Karnal, Gharauṇḍa, Panipat, Ganaur, Sonapat,

⁹⁴ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), pp. 12-24.

⁹⁵ Monserrate, *The Commentary...*, pp.95-108, and 92-98; William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.) W. Foster, pp.155-61; Delaet, *The Empire of Great Mogul*, (tr.), pp.47-51; Steel and Crowther in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, pp. 267-68; Manrique, *Travels...*, pp. 180-84; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, pp. 85-86; *Chahar Gulshan*, (tr.) *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. XCVII – XCVIII.

Narela (Delhi), Prithala, Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal on the Delhi-Lahore route. The others on Delhi-Multan route are Sirsa, Fatahabad, Agroha, Hissar, Hansi, Mandhauti, etc., respectively. There were other secondary and tertiary routes as well in the region. However, these do not find mention in the contemporary sources but reference to them is available in the later sources. The later sources reveals that the major routes mentioned in the contemporary sources continued to exist in the later times as well. A survey study by Usha Agarwal traces these routes from c.1550- c.1850 for the Haryana region,⁹⁶ which is summarised below:

Table 3.1

Table Showing the major and minor centres on the Delhi-Lahore Route lying in Haryana Territory.

DELHI-LAHORE ROUTE c.1550 – c.1850.

Primary Route Stages	Eastern		Primary Route Stages	Western	
	Secondary Route Stages	Tertiary Route Stages		Secondary Route Stages	Tertiary Route Stages
Delhi		Badli Azadpur Alipur Narela.	Delhi		Magholpur Nangloi Mundka Bhadurgarh Mandhauti Rohad Sampla Khirwar Paharwar

⁹⁶ Usha Agarwal, *Historical Route Network*, ICCSR-CSRD/JNU project, Delhi, 1985, (unpublished), pp. 8-56.

Sonepat			Rohtak	
	Ganaur			Gaddikhera
	Smalkha			Madina
				Kharkhaur
Panipat		Nizampura	Mahim	
	Gharaunda			Mundahal
				Sirkhi
				Dhana
				Kalan
		Kutail	Hansi	
		Kambhipur		
Karnal		Baldi	Hissar	
		Jhunghori		
		Shiamgarh		
	Tirwari	Nlilokheri	Agroha	
		Batana	Fatahabad	
		Raipur		
		Samana		
		Chandra-		
		bhanpur		
		Pulwal		
		Sunderpur		
Thanesar				Raipur
				Ram Tirath
				Talawandi
				Kot Shamir
	Shahabad	Lardi		
		Manhari		
		Jandla		
Ambala			Bhatinda	
To			To	
Lahore			Lahore	

Source: Usha Agarwal, *Historical Route Network*, pp. 8-24.

One more route that finds mention in the contemporary sources joined Ajmer to Delhi and Agra and passed through southern territory of Haryana via Rewari, Pataudi etc.⁹⁷

The Routes that emerged in the region were located all along cultivated lands and were flanked by trees which provided relief to the travelers.⁹⁸ We trace the existence of *sarais*/rest houses along these routes through stray references of European travelers.⁹⁹ Unfortunately Cunningham's *Archaeological survey of India Reports* have not been of much help to us, as these have not listed any such structures for our region. The information available to us regarding the construction of the individual *sarais* nowhere clearly indicates that who was responsible for their construction, whether it was state or the individuals or the people in the locality or were constructed out of the need to handle the heavy traffic along the most promising trade routes. However, the comment of Manrique, in general¹⁰⁰, can give us some insight to the issue that who actually contributed to the construction of *sarais*. According to Manrique, '... the majority of *caramossoras* (*caravan sarai*) are some times constructed at the cost of surrounding villages, some times with the donation of princes or wealthy and powerful individuals who hoped thus to immortalise their name and alleviate

⁹⁷ *Chahar Gulshan*, (tr.), *India of Aurangzeb*, p.175.

⁹⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp.7-8; Major David Price, *Memoirs of Emperor Jahanghir Written By Himself*, London, 1829, pp. 8-9.

⁹⁹ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.), W. Foster, pp.155-60; De Laet, *The Empire of Great Mogul*, (tr.), pp. 47-51; Monserrate, *The Commentary...*, pp. 95-108 and 92-98; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, pp. 35-86.

¹⁰⁰ Manrique, *Travels...*, II, pp. 100-101.

their conscience. The fact remains that the *sarais* / rest houses were constructed for the stay of travelers who were on long journey primarily for trade purposes. These *sarais* not only provided them shelter but also safety'.¹⁰¹

The places where the existence of *sarais* are traceable along the major trade route passing through our region are Hodal, Palwal, between Faridabad and Delhi, Gharaunda, a place between Karnal and Panipat. This small number do not rule out the possibility that in many of the settlements located on the main trade route, similar structures were constructed which were destroyed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and when Cunningham's team surveyed the region it could find no trace of them.¹⁰² Yet, some details noticed during a survey of existing structures can help us to understand the functions of *sarais* in the region.¹⁰³

Iqtidar Alam Khan with a team on Delhi--Lahore – Agra route¹⁰⁴ surveyed some twenty two surviving structures. Out of these only three structures were spotted in the Haryana territory. They were *Sarai* Hodal,

¹⁰¹ Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, p. 89. For details on the usage of check posts/*sarais* etc. See A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977; Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures', *IHR*, XIV, nos. 1-2, 1985, p. 118-37; TapanRay Chaudhari and Irfan Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, pp. 354-56, Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰² For instance *Sarai* Gharaunda was destroyed by the English forces during 1857. See C.J. Rodgers, *Revised Lists of the objects of Archaeological Interest in Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p.58 as cited in Subhas Parihar, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁰³ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, 1985, pp.118-37.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 117.

Sarai Palwal and *Mughal Sarai* (between Karnal and Panipat) at Gharaunda. These were constructed some time during the reign of Akbar and Shahjahan. The area of these *sarais* is listed here which is based on the above field work in Table 3.2

Table 3.2
Caravan *Sarais* in Haryana Territory

<i>Sarais</i> along the Agra-Delhi Lahore route	Area of the country and if <i>sarais</i> in Sq. mts.	No. of rooms		Size of rooms in sq. mts.	
		Ordinary room	Special room	Ordinary room	Special room
Haryana Region					
1. Mughal Sarai	109.40 x 87.48	80	2	9.2	28.84
2. Sarai Palwal	248 x 248	-	-	9.6	-
3. Sarai Hodal	146.50 x 146.50	-	-	-	-
Outside Haryana Region					
1. Sarai Nur	141.60 x 141.60	108	4	10.90	-
Mahal	148.90 x 140.20	112	2	10.89	-
2. Sarai Dakhini	96.7 x 96.7	110	3	10.89	-
3. Damdama Sarai	160 x 160	148	10	10.24	-
4. Sarai Chatta					

Source: Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Karawansaray of Mughal India*, *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, p.137.

The field work establishes that these *sarais* were either rectangular or square structures and also contained structures inside them. In a comparison of their courtyard with that of other *sarais* on the route, one finds that these could favourably match in size with the largest *sarais* located elsewhere. This study also gives us the ground plan of a few *Mughal Sarais*.¹⁰⁵ However, the survey is silent on *Sarai Hodal* and *Sarai Palwal*.¹⁰⁶ The area of the

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 132.

courtyards of the *Sarais* of Hodal and Palwal indicates that they must have been catering to the same amount of traffic as done by the Mughal Sarai or other *sarais* enroute. The Mughal Sarai between Karnal and Panipat consisted of 80 ordinary rooms and two special rooms. Each ordinary room had an area of 9.42 sq mts. and the area of special room was 28.84 sq. mts. For the *sarais* at Hodal and Palwal, we do not have the number of rooms in either of the categories. However, in *Sarai* Palwal the ordinary room was measured as 9.61 sq. mts.¹⁰⁷

The existence of accommodation available and other facilities in these structures, if compared with similar buildings in all likelihood, establishes them of huge size which can provide for storage of merchandise and resting place for personnel carriers and pack animals. Now taking both informations into account, it is fair to suggest that at one given point in time, huge *caravan* with substantial volume of goods could obtain accommodation in these *sarais*. Iqtidar Alam Khan has not mentioned the dates of the construction of these *Sarais*.¹⁰⁸ However, Captain Mundy places the construction of Mughal *Sarai* at Gharaunda during Shahjahan's regime by one Feroz Khan.¹⁰⁹ This is based on an inscription which is, however, not available as it is extinct.¹¹⁰ Earlier to Iqtidar Alam Khan's survey one Lieut.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Captain Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches, Being The Journal of a Tour in India*, I, London, 1832, p.105.

¹¹⁰ No mention to the said inscription is made by Iqtidar Alam Khan. Iqtidar Alam Khan prepared the ground plan for Mughal *Sarai* on the basis of inter dimension of revived structure. Also see Subhash Parihar, *op.cit.*, p.21.

William Barr had visited the site on 25th June, 1839.¹¹¹ The photographic reproduction of main gate of *sarai*,¹¹² Lieut Barr's narrative¹¹³ and Iqtidar Alam Khan's construct of the entire structure,¹¹⁴ show that the Mughal *Sarai* was one of the largest structure of its kind and that its builder had spared no effort to provide adequate space and security for the travelers. However, the dilapidated building was completely destroyed by the British forces in 1857 as some participants in the revolt had taken shelter there.¹¹⁵

Further, if one surveys the major trade route (Agra-Delhi-Lahore) it will be observed that this Mughal *Sarai* was the only structure of its kind between Delhi and Sirhind within Haryana territory along the Delhi-Lahore route. It covered a distance of 580 miles¹¹⁶ and catered traffic during seventeenth century. There were numerous *sarais* beyond Sirhind towards Lahore and beyond Delhi towards Agra. For instance Iqtidar Alam Khan has

¹¹¹ William Barr, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar and Thence to Cabul*, London, 1884, pp. 14-15.

¹¹² See illustration no.12 and 14 in Subhash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in the Punjab and Haryana*.

¹¹³ 'We reached [Gharaunda] Garondal at 8'o clock, where our camp was pitched in a very pretty grove of date trees and not far from the village, which though merely a collection of mud huts can boast of possessing in its environs an extremely handsome caravan *sarai*. A lofty gateway, flanked on either side by very peculiarly constructed towers surmounted with cuplos, points out into entrance, its area being enclosed by a high embattled walls with bastions at its angles. The whole through built of a reddish free stone, is considerably dilapidated but the bastions more so than any other part,...'. William Barr, *Journal of March to Delhi...*, pp. 14-15.

¹¹⁴ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, p.128.

¹¹⁵ Charles J.Rodgers, *Revised lists of the Objects of Archaeological Interests in the Punjab*, p. 58.

¹¹⁶ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, pp. xiii; Also see A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977, Appendix II, pp. 216-218. (1 kos = 2½ miles).

spotted a cluster of *sarais* near Lahore at Doraha, Phillaur, Nurmahal, Nakodar, Sultanpur etc., at an average distance of 15 to 17.5 miles towards Kabul.¹¹⁷ Similarly between Delhi and Agra the spotted *Sarais* are 8 in number.¹¹⁸ They are near Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal Kosi, Chhata, Chaumukha, Azmabad and Mathura. On both directions the clusters of *sarais* is seen at an average distance of 15 to 30 miles. The question that arises out of the observations of fieldwork is that, whereas on both sides of Haryana region *sarais* were constructed at a convenient distance ranging between 15 to 30 miles.¹¹⁹ Same should have been the case in the route passing through Haryana. Mere absence of structure should not lead one to believe that a distance of 226 miles (between Delhi and Ambala) was covered without existence of such an important facility, especially when the trade and traffic through the region was frequent and voluminous. In some of the travelers accounts¹²⁰ and sources of the eighteenth century,¹²¹ we come across mention of few *sarais* in the region on this route. However, the data or period of the construction is not given in the sources. In all likelihood, these belong to the missing structures that we have deduced on the basis of the location of *sarais* at some average distance along the frequented route. There would be some 19 or 38 *sarais* along the Delhi – Lahore route. The European

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 216-17.

¹¹⁸ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India', *IHR*, XIV, nos.1-2, p.117.

¹¹⁹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), pp. 7-8 and Major David Price, *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir*, Delhi, 1904, pp.9 & 157.

¹²⁰ De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, pp. 47-55; Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, pp. 155-60.

¹²¹ Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route between Delhi and Cabul, 1797 AD', *The Punjab Past and Present*, vol.XII, I, no.23, April, 1978, pp. 15-28.

travelers accounts¹²² refer to the following *sarais*: *Sarai Baoli/Badli*, *Sarai Narela*, *Sarai Sonapat*, *Sarai Ganaur*, *Sarai Azmabad*, *Sarai Hajam* (Thanesar), *Sarai Shahabad*, *Sarai Aluwa*, *Mughal Sarai* at Sirhind, *Sarai Kohana*, *Sarai Lashkar*, *Sarai Phillaur*, *Sarai Nurmahal*, *Sarai Dakhani*, *Sarai Nakodar*, *Khan Khana Ki Sarai* and many others. Apparently many of these *sarais* met the same fate as that of the *Mughal Sarai* of Gharanuda due to the attitude of descendents of the person who had constructed them. Most of the buildings, used for all kind of purposes could not survive for want of care. *Sarais* were no exceptions. On this account Pelsaert's observations appear quite relevant:¹²³

...Nothing is permanent, yea, even the noble buildings – gardens, tombs or palaces, - which in and near every city one cannot contemplate without pity or distress, because of their ruined state. For in this they are to be despised above all the laziest nations of the world, because they build them with so many hundreds of thousands and yet keep them in repair only so long as the owners live and have the means. Once the builder is dead no one will care for the buildings; the son will neglect his fathers' work, the mother her son's, brothers and friends will take no care for each others buildings, everyone tries, as far as possible to erect a new building of his own, and establish his own reputation alongside that of his ancestors. Consequently it may be said that if all these buildings and erections were attended to and repaired for a century, the lords of every city, and even village, would be adored with monuments; but as a matter of fact the roads leading to the cities are strewn with fallen columns of stone.

¹²² De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, pp. 47-55; Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, pp.155-60; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (tr.) V. Ball, p.77.

¹²³ Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, (tr.), p. 56.

Thus, the location of *sarais* along the trade routes or in small town suggest continuous flow of traffic. In his discussion of, 'Account of the Provinces North and West of Agra', Pelsaert have observed as to how Agra was so well connected with Lahore and Multan.¹²⁴ Agra imported ormesines and carpets from Lahore, fruits from Kabul, asofoetide from Kandhar, gall nuts, opium, sulphur, white cotton goods etc. from Multan.¹²⁵ It exported spices, white cotton goods of Bengal and Golconda, quick silver, vermillion, coral, turbans, girdles all sort of silk goods of Ahamdabad, silk of Patna, lac, pepper, drugs etc. to Lahore.¹²⁶ Similarly, export items towards Multan were cotton, coarse yarn, Bengal cotton goods, turbans, prints, seed saler from Burhanpur.¹²⁷ All these items of export and import traversed through the Haryana territory. However, in the absence of any quantitative data regarding trade volume it is not possible to give the estimates of profits to the region through the long distance trade. It can be assumed that region was definitely earning some money by way of taxes called *rahadari*/toll tax,¹²⁸ services offered to the travelers in the *sarais* by skilled and unskilled labour,¹²⁹ supply of food, entertainment and other things.¹³⁰

The travel and transport along the trade routes would have been in bullock carts, camels, horses, *palanqis*, etc. People preferred to travel in

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.31.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications*, pp. 169-72.

¹²⁹ Peter Mundy, *Travels in Asia*, II, p. 121.

¹³⁰ A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications*, pp. 103-04.

groups during the day time and halted in *sarais* at night. Absence of any big river in the region rules out the possibility of river transport. However, access to river Yamuna existed as it was not located at a far distance. The land transport was generally preferred. Loading and transport of goods was carried out through pack animals, bullock carts, horses, camels etc. The bullock carts were more convenient and economical as they did not require loading and unloading of goods at every major halt.¹³¹

Market centres have been the common and significant features of the urban settlements.¹³² Large urban settlements were marked by both permanent and temporary market centres. These centres remained the points of exchange through sale and purchase of agrarian and craft products and other items. At these centres general and specialised both types of items of trade were put to sale. The medieval sources provide various nomenclature to the market centres depending on their size, nature and location. According to the author of *Ardha-Kathanak* there were *bazaars*,¹³³ *mandis*,¹³⁴ *nakhasa*,¹³⁵ *katra*,¹³⁶ *hat*,¹³⁷ *peth*,¹³⁸

¹³¹ For details on bullock carts, their usage during medieval times in north India see, Jean Deloche, *Transport and Communication in India, Prior to Steam Locomotion*, I, pp. 255-273 and K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, p.148.

¹³² M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1550-1707*, pp.1-2 & 138-47.

¹³³ Banarsidas, *Ardha-Kathanak*, (ed.), N.R. Premi, Bombay, 1957, cited in R.C. Sharma, 'Aspects of Business in Northern India in the Seventeenth Century', *PIHC*, 33rd Session, Muzaffarpur, 1972, p. 277; M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 138-167.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, (*mandi* was a whole sale market, usually for grains / *gallah mandi*).

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, (daily market).

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, (an enclosed market).

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.278.

¹³⁸ M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, p. 145.

*feri*¹³⁹ etc. The existence of regular market centres has been traced and discussed by scholars in case of larger urban centres/*shahars* like Agra,¹⁴⁰ Lahore,¹⁴¹ Delhi,¹⁴² Ahamdabad,¹⁴³ Surat,¹⁴⁴ etc. The possibility of similar market centres can not be ruled out in case of small urban centres in the Haryana region in the light of Tavernier's statement¹⁴⁵: '... even in smallest villages rice, flour, butter, milk, beans and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid, can be procured in abundance'. Haryana region had both small and medium size urban settlements and they had market centres, however, they were not as large as that of larger urban settlements.

In case of Haryana region it appears that the internal trade was more prominent, especially in agricultural commodities. Many of the settlements like Sirsa, Hansi, Rewari, Rohtak, Narnaul were important grain market centres. As stated above these centres were called as *mandis*.¹⁴⁶ These were the centres where commodities like corn, vegetables, rice, sugar, salt, etc. were sold. These *mandis* were named either after the founders name or the

¹³⁹ R.C. Sharma, 'Aspects of Business in Northern India', p. 278.

¹⁴⁰ K.K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 150-51.

¹⁴¹ Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present*(whole book).

¹⁴² Nurul Hasan, 'The Morphology of a Medieval Indian City: A case study of Shahjahanabad', *The City in Indian: Urban Demography, Society and Politics*, Delhi, 1994, pp. 87-97.

¹⁴³ Gillion, Kenneth, L., *Ahemdabad, A Study in Indian urban History*, Ahamdabad, 1968 ; B.G. Gokhlae, 'Ahemdabad in the seventeenth Century', *IESHR*, XII, pt. I, Jan, 1969. pp.187-97.

¹⁴⁴ B.G. Gokhlae, *Surat in the Senteenth cntury: A Study in Urban History of Pre-Modern India*, Scandivian Institute of Asian Study, Monograph Series no.28, London, 1979.

¹⁴⁵ For instance during 14th century Sirsa produced good quality rice and it was sent towards Delhi; Ibn Batuta, *The Rehla*, (tr.) p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ R.C. Sharma, 'Aspect of Business in Northern India', *PIHC*, 33rd session, p.277.

chief commodity sold there. Few scholars¹⁴⁷ have attempted to understand the nature and functioning of grain markets in case of eastern Rajasthan and southern Haryana.

Madhvi Bajelkal¹⁴⁸ explores the 'local rural trade', and how the commodities moved out of locality (from rural settlements) to the 'hierarchy of markets', which in turn linked by chains of intermediaries and the flow of commodities and credit'. Her study makes us understand that how the state was dealing with the agricultural produce, how it was carried to the various markets, how the state was benefiting out of it and what was the attitude of grain merchants in the entire process. Similarly, Abha Singh¹⁴⁹ explores for three *parganas* of southern Haryana: Rewari, Bawal and Kotla regarding the state intervention in rural grain market, role of *jagirdars* as grain traders, nature of price fixation and sales etc. Both the studies look at the benefits and limitations of the rural trade. Their findings are somewhat similar in case of both the regions that the grains were largely sold within the *pargana* i.e. at the market centres of *pargana* headquarters which were centres of collection and distribution. The second possibility of selling of grain outside

¹⁴⁷ Madhvi Bajelkal, 'The State and the rural grain, market in the Eighteenth century eastern Rajasthan' in Sanjay Subramanyam, (ed.), Delhi, 1990, pp.91-120; Abha Singh, 'Joginder And the Rural Market in Haryana 17th and 18th centuries', Indian History Congress, 53rd session, Warangal, 1992-93, (cyclostyled copy), pp.1-15.

¹⁴⁸ Madhvi Bajelkal, The state and the rural grain market in eighteenth century eastern Rajasthan, pp. 90-91 & 99-117. Also see Dilbagh Singh, 'The Role of Mahajans with Rural Economy of Eastern Rajasthan During the 18th Century', *Social Scientist*, May, 1974, pp.

¹⁴⁹ Abha Singh, 'Jagirdar And The Rural Market in Haryana: 17th and 18th Centuries', pp.1-15.

pargana Kotla and *pargana* Bawal is studied by Abha Singh.¹⁵⁰ In this way the intra local trade was a special feature between rural settlements and *pargana* headquarters and between two different *pargana* headquarters or two urban settlements. It is, therefore, worth mentioning here that the *pargana* headquarters were the settlements of small or medium size and they played a vital role in collection and distribution of grains within Haryana region and outside, towards the imperial or provincial capitals. The possibility of such grain movement¹⁵¹ and specially *ghee* from Sirsa, Hansi and Hissar-i-Firuzi surrounding towards Delhi, Agra and Multan finds mention in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁵²

These studies also show that the sale of grains and other agricultural commodities were a seasonal feature and the medium size town/*qasba* market centres played a significant role. The agency to make the entire process of sale and purchase successful were the grain dealer-cum-merchants. The *qasba* market centres had grain merchants financiers and money changers. In other words they were the permanent features of these settlements. When the economy received impetus from various sectors many of such grain dealer-cum-merchants developed into moneylenders and shroffs (money changers).¹⁵³ They not only maintained their hold on *qasbas* / townships but also started participating in larger activities i.e. trading to

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁵¹ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), p. 23.

¹⁵² *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p.34 and (tr.), I, p.60.

¹⁵³ Satish Chandra, 'Some Aspects of Growth of Money Economy in India during 17th Century' *Studies in Asian History proceeding of Asian History congress, 1961*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 374,74.

larger urban centres and getting settled in the *shahar*. One such reference is available to us in case of Banarsidas's ancestors¹⁵⁴ who originally belonged to the district of Rohtak in Haryana. From village Biholi they shifted to Rohtak and thereafter to other larger town of northern India.

So far we have discussed the non-agricultural production, trade routes, *sarais* and markets in the region. The region comprised of both rural markets and urban markets in various settlements along the frequented trade routes, secondary routes and tertiary routes. The trade activity in the region was multi-dimensional. The one was horizontal i.e. intra local by nature¹⁵⁵ and the other was vertical which connected one region to the other or a *qasba* was connected in turn with large town which further had linkages with provincial and imperial capital. The vertical trade movement was part of external trade / international trade and the Haryana region contributed significantly though it could not make any separate identity as in case of Bengal, Gujarat etc.

The people who contributed to this vertical movement were the caravan traders (*banjaras*), merchants/traders from Khurasan, Multan, Central Asia, etc. Their movements have been recorded since twelfth century. The Caravan traders transacted in food grains (wheat, rice, millets, pulses), *ghee*, jaggery etc. They also carried along with them articles of daily need like salt and exercised considerable influence on the lives of rural and

¹⁵⁴ Banarsidas, *Ardha-Kathanak*, (tr.), Mukund Lath, Jaipur, 1981, p.2 &c.

¹⁵⁵ For 'intra-local trade' see TapanRay Chaudhari and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, pp. 325-27.

urban settlers.¹⁵⁶ The *banjaras* were the itinerant merchants, who moved in large carvans/*tandas*¹⁵⁷ and carried the goods on the back of their bullocks. In case of Haryana enroute distribution of products like rice and *ghee* by these traders can not be denied. Ibn Batutta has recorded Sirsa and its surroundings producing superior quality rice which was exported towards Delhi.¹⁵⁸ Similarly *Insha-i-Mahru* records the export of *ghee* towards Multan¹⁵⁹ and *Ain-i-Akbari* records its export towards Delhi and Agra.¹⁶⁰ This *ghee* was reportedly produced in Hansi-Hissar-i-Firuz sub region.¹⁶¹ Similarly Afif records about the Khurasani traders who were traveling along the Ajodhan-Sirsa-Hansi route between Multan and Delhi in fourteenth century.¹⁶² Since fifteenth century with the prominence acquired by Lahore-Delhi-Agra route via Sirhind – Ambala – Thanesar – Panipat, the region was frequented by merchants. However, these merchants showed much of their trading interest in the provincial and imperial capital or manufacturing centres. We lack specific reference in case of Haryana region for Khurasani, Multani or other Central Asian traders regarding the commodities in which they were interested. Specific informations are available regarding the settlements in which some kind of trading activities were carried out by

¹⁵⁶ For details on the *banjara*/caravan traders see Syed Aslam Ali, 'The Role of *Banjaras* in Indian Trade During the Seventeenth Century', History Seminar Series, no.2, Aligarh, 1984, pp.1-25.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), p. 23.

¹⁵⁹ *Insha-i-Mahru*, p. 71 as cited in H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 34 and (tr.), I, p. 60.

¹⁶¹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.

¹⁶² Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 124

European merchants. The European merchants showed their interest in indigo and saltpetre, coarse cloth, calicoes and Knives from Panipat, armours from Sonapat and few other things which are being discussed.

As stated earlier, the Mewat region in Southern Haryana produced indigo. The Dutch Factor, Pelsaert, who was an expert indigo buyer has reported about Mewat indigo.¹⁶³ Though he does not account for the volume of Mewat indigo trade, he informs about significant aspects. He informs us about comparative inferiority of Mewat-indigo to that of Bayana-indigo and also about its lower rate which was 20 rupees per maund. He informs about the trade of indigo all over Hindustan; its export which was not much and also the purchase of Mewat-indigo by the Dutch for trial purposes. A comparative study of the yield estimates provided by Palseart for three significant-indigo tracts is given below in the table :

	Indigo Production in Seventeenth Century			
	Favourable Years	Unfavourable Years	Average bales	Average in metric tons
Bayana tract	4000	2000	3000	300
Kol Khurja tract	1000	--	1000	100
Mewat tract	1000	--	1000	100

Source: Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 13-15.

The weight of one bale for Mewat tract was 4 maunds (*man-i-Akbari*) and one *man-i-Akbari* was 55.32 lb. avdp. The product of Mewat tract would be 221280 lb or 100.4 metric tons. This must have accounted for the value of 80,000 rupees approximately. The period for which Pelsaert was accounting,

¹⁶³ Pelsaert, *Jahanghir's India*, (tr.), p.15.

evidenced growth in indigo trade. Every European merchant, Armenians, etc. showed their interest in it and according to his estimates the trend of positive growth was to continue.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, one can speculate that through indigo trade this part of Haryana would have definitely benefited.

Salt-petre was another significant product of the Haryana region. Both European and Persian accounts throw significant light on it. Salt-petre was manufactured at Thanesar and it was sold for 7 or 7½ rupees for maund.¹⁶⁵ Beside Dutch Factors, the English Factors also showed their interest into it. However, we do not have any account of them trading in Thanesar's salt-petre but the mention of Thanesar salt-petre in the records of English Factories satisfactorily proves that it remained a significant product for them.¹⁶⁶ However, the rate given by Henry Borford is less than the rate given by Pelsaert for March, 1639 which was 6¼ rupee per maund.¹⁶⁷

Haryana region had also excelled in textile products; our sources indicate about the coarse variety of cloth produced at Panipat,¹⁶⁸ calicoes, Muslin etc. available from Panipat,¹⁶⁹ woven fabrics from Thanesar etc. The *English Factories* in India record about white cloth of Panipat which was same in length and breadth of the Samana cloth.¹⁷⁰ This cloth was sent to

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁶ *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, p. 134.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B and p. 13.

¹⁷⁰ *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*, p. 134; For details on Samana cloth see *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, pp. 135 and 1624-29, p. 149.

Sirhind and Lahore for sale.¹⁷¹ Infact, Panipat has acquired the status of a textile centre in Haryana region during the medieval period. The other settlements discussed, however, also remained important production or distribution centres. These incurred good amount of wealth to artisans, traders and the state.

Horse-trade remained another significant activity. During pre-Turkish period Prithudaka/Pehowa remained chief centre of horse trade.¹⁷² However it is not recorded as horse trading centre in Sultanate or Mughal regime. But Haryana region remained significantly active in horse trade. Good quality of horses were brought from Multan to Delhi via Ajodhan-Sirsa-Hansi-Mandhauti till fifteenth century.¹⁷³ Later, Sunam (outside Haryana territory) and Mewat developed as horse breeding centres. It is not clear whether the region in any way benefited from horse trade. However it can be observed that there was a demand for the horses among the officials in the urban settlements and forces in the imperial contingents. The pockets of Haryana region also remained famous for cattles. Hissar-i-Firuz was enormously rich in that. However, the transactions in cattles are not recorded anywhere. It can be therefore presumed on the basis of *ghee* export

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.134.

¹⁷² For details see G. Buhler, 'The Peheva Inscriptions from the temple of Garibnath', *EI*, I, pp.184-90. This is a ninth Century inscription (882-83) which provides detail of a fair at Pehowa. The different animals especially horse were brought and sold. Also see B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India' in *IHR*, I, 1974. Delhi.

¹⁷³ *Insha-i-Mahru*, pp. 111 and 175 as cited in H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi*, p.113.

from this part to the capitals that this pocket was enormously rich and benefited as well.

The whole of the discussion infers that the present Haryana territory remained generative and contributed to the economic growth of the region during medieval times.

CHAPTER IV

URBAN CENTRES IN THE REGION

The Persian chronicles record various nomenclature for the settlements which are based on their size, location, function and nature of inhabitants.¹ The commonest nomenclature used for these settlements are *mauza* (rural settlement/ village); *qasba*² (township/small town), *balda/baldah* (extended part of an urban settlement / environs of urban settlement), *shahar*³ (city/large town), *bandar* and *bara* (large and small port town), etc.⁴ In case of Haryana we mainly come across terms like *qasba* and *shahar* for small and large settlements because it is an inland region.

Before we attempt categorization for urban settlements of an inland region, the meaning of these settlements should be understood properly. An urban settlement is understood as a socio-economic structure, distinct from its rural surroundings, variant from self-sufficient food producing economy to an economy which bases itself on specialized manufactures and trade

¹ M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1556-1707*, Delhi, 1985, p. 1; H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 77-133; Gavin R.G. Hambly, 'Town and Cities: Mughal India', *CEHI*, I, (eds.) Tapan Ray Chaudhari and Irfan Habib, Delhi, 1982, pp. 434-35.

² For definition of *qasba* see Khwaja Yassin, *Glossary of Revenue and Administrative Terms*, Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 6603, f. 70b and Purnea Ms. f. 95a; for (tr.) see S. Hasan Mahmood, *An Eighteenth Century Agrarian Manual, Yassin's Dastur-i-malguzari, (Persian text and Eng. tr. With an introduction)*, Delhi, 2000, term no. 382 (forthcoming); *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 434; H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, Delhi, 1968, p. 266 and H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Delhi*, pp. 77-79.

³ H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, p. 477; H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 79.

⁴ M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire* p. 1.

activities. The urban settlements, however, do not have independent roles but they maintain linkages with the rural settlements. In case of medieval India these linkages were either through extracting agrarian surplus or through inter-local trade within a region. The medieval economy was predominantly agrarian, yet the non-agrarian sector played a vital role in the overall growth of the economy of the region. In this way the urban settlements became significant. Their eminence is reflected in contemporary sources occasionally but the comment of Abul Fazl is best suited⁵ :

People that are attached to the world
Will collect in Towns
Without which there would be no progress.

The above mentioned statement of Abul Fazl nullifies all assumptions regarding urban settlements', role of being parasitic by nature,⁶ rather, it establishes them as an catalytic agent in the growth process.⁷ It is worth mentioning at this stage that the urban settlements are located on the other extreme of the continuum bar.⁸ This bar has its beginning with the rural

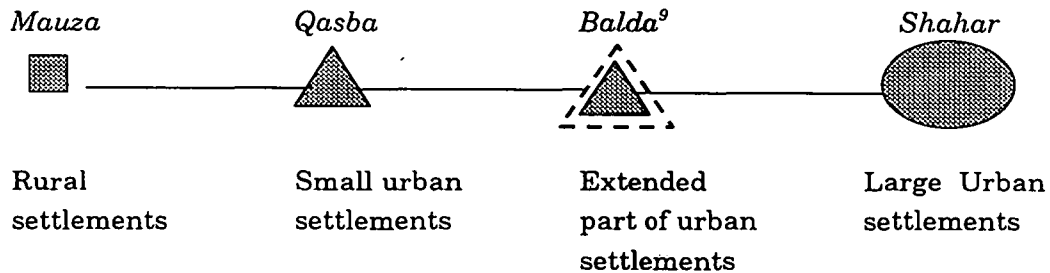
⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 167 and (tr.) I, p. 232.

⁶ Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 246; also see Satish Chandra, 'Some Aspects of Urbanisation in Medieval India', *The City in Indian History*, p. 81.

⁷ K.K. Trivedi, 'Lahore As A Centre Of Economic Growth (AD 1000-1700)', paper presented at Seminar on Urbanisation in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh and Punjab (Pakistan), Chandigarh, 1997, (cyclostyle copy), pp. 1-2. See also E.A. Wrigley, 'Parasite or Stimulus : The Town in a Pre-Industrial Economy', in P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley, (eds.), *Towns in Societies, Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 295-310.

⁸ S.C. Misra, 'Urban History in India - Possibilities and Perspectives', and Satish Chandra, 'Some Aspects of Urbanisation in Medieval India', in *The City in Indian History*, pp. 1-2 & 85-86; Indu Banga, 'Rural-Urban Interaction : The Upper Bari Doab, c. 1550-1900', Paper presented at Seminar on Urbanisation in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh and Punjab (Pakistan) Chandigarh, 1997 (cyclostyle copy), pp. 1-3.

level settlements, followed by settlements of larger size including better facilities. It can be best demonstrated in the following way:



The common features of urban settlements have been identified by the scholars¹⁰ in the field of urban history in case of northern India during medieval period. These features differentiate them from the rural settlements. These features are *bazaars* (both regular and temporary), inhabitants/residents being mostly non-agriculturist, easy availability of water through tanks, *baolis* (step wells), wells, reservoirs etc., fortification, administrative establishment, public edifices etc. Advanced facilities existed in case of large urban settlements (*shahars*). The urban settlements can be categorized in small, medium and large size settlements. The most prevalent nomenclature offered to these are *qasbas* and *shahars* respectively.

⁹ For explanation on *balda* see *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 240; Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, (ed.), Zafar Hasan, pp. 38-9, 42 & 53; F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1973, (reprint), p. 197, (Steingass gives meaning for *balda* as a town/country. Its meaning as country indicates the environs of the urban settlements.

¹⁰ H.K. Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals 1556-1707*, Simla, 1972, pp. 1-15; *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Delhi*, pp. 77- 133; M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Ports in Mughal India*, pp. 1-2; Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *Mughal Economy: Organisation and Working*, Calcutta, 1987, p. 205.

Qasbas were the larger units than the rural settlements/ *mauzas* but smaller than the medium size urban settlements and *shahars*. These incorporated both the rural and urban characteristics. For instance, some cultivation was carried out on their outer fringes and these also had some administrative, production and commercial activities within its precincts. Their size and significance varied due to the change in economic and political structure. This can be stated in a simplistic way. If there were multiplication of developed villages due to the developing economy, the addition in number of *qasbas* was a natural phenomenon and if the trend in the economy remained retarded, the reduction in the size of township became prominent. Similarly the political variants will play their role, positively or negatively.

The factors that contributed to the proliferation of *qasbas* in north India were agricultural, topographical suitability, strategic location, access to external and internal trade, pilgrimage and sufi-centres, craft-production centre etc. Once a *qasba* emerged and if the economic growth remained accelerated these units survived for a longer period. In turn they could also acquire the status of administrative centres. These could thus emerge as *pargana/iqta* or *shiq* headquarters under officers like *iqtadar*, *maqti* / *shiqdar*.

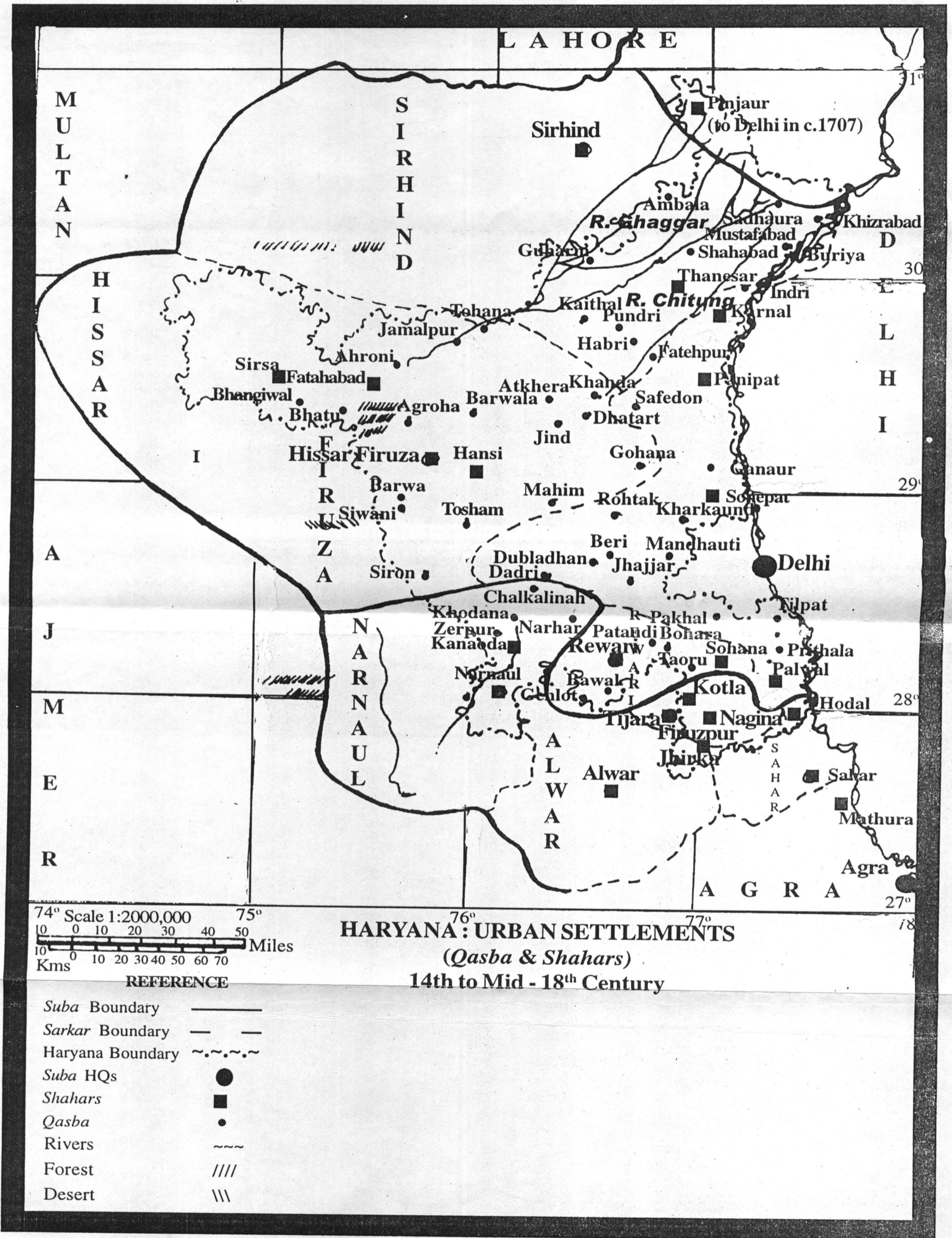
Shahar unlike *mauza* or *qasba* was composed of conglomeration of inhabitants in a delimited area. It has central organism and non-agrarian production and trade activity remained their main source of income. Such settlements could have been state sponsored and contained majestic

monuments, lush green gardens, orchards and they could also develop a distinct culture in course of time.

All urban settlements acquire their functional identity on the basis of major activities located there. Yet these urban settlements either play a single or multifunctional role. On functional basis, the pre-modern Indian urban settlements have been categorized into four¹¹ — administrative, manufacturing and commercial, sacred and lastly, for peculiar activity like craft skill or commodity.

It may, however, be mentioned that location of primary function does not exclude presence of other functions. One or more of these could always be noticed in various forms. The categorisation of urban settlements in case of Haryana region is shown in the table given below :

¹¹ Maurice Dobb *Studies in the Economic Development*, pp.34-81. In case of Indian towns see H.K. Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres in Mughal India*. p. 269; M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, pp.1-4; Gavin R.G. Hambly, 'Town and Cities: Mughal India', *CEHI*, I, (eds.), Tapan Ray Chaudhary and Irfan Habib, p. 435.



Urban Settlements in Haryana Territory

Category	Primary Function	<i>Shahar</i> (Medium size settlements)	<i>Qasba</i> (Small size settlements)
I.	Administrative	Hansi, Sirsa, Hissar-i-Firuza, Rohtak, Rewari, Narnaul, Karnal, Thanesar, Panipat, Hodal, Palwal, Faridabad, etc.	Dhatart, Agroha, Barwala, Jind, Safedon, Sadhaura, Kaithal, Gohana, Hissar-i-Firuza, Shahabad, Mahim, Jhajjar, etc.
II	Manufacturing and Commercial	Panipat and Thanesar.	Sonepat
III	Sacred Centres	Hansi, Narnaul, Panipat, Thanesar, Sirsa	Kaithal, Jind
IV	Local Commodity	Khizrabad (timber mart), Pinjaur (rose cultivation and extraction of rose water), Sirsa (for rice), Hissar-i-Firuza (<i>ghee</i>), Thanesar (salt-petre)	Mahim (sugar candy and jaggery), indigo dye and distributing settlements in the Mewat tract

However, such a categorization does rule out the presence of one or more of these functions. For instance Narnaul and Hissar-i-Firuza were the mint towns within the Haryana territory. Therefore, in order to have better understanding regarding the nature and functionality of urban settlements one should construct biography of urban settlements. Continuity of many settlements, since pre-Turkish time could be noticed. Some of the better known are Asi/Hansi, Sirsuti/Sirsa, Sthaneskhvara/Thanesar, Narnaul, Rewari, Khokrakot, Rohtak, Panchapura/Pinjaur etc. Many of these grew in size and their existence continued with occasional ups and down owing to state patronage or location on the frequented routes or being collection and distribution centres of food grains and other products. Travel across the time

is evident from their biographical details. While describing the urban settlements, we have taken functionality and hierarchy into account.

Hissar-i-Firuz

Hissar-i-Firuz would mean 'fort of Firuz'. The very name indicates that the fort was constructed by Sultan Firuz Shah (1351-88). This fact is supported by the account of the court historian of Firuz Shah, Shams Siraj Afif.¹² Afif informs us that the Hissar-i-Firuz was founded at the location of the site of two villages — Laras Buzurg and Laras Khurd. The location of the site¹³ for the construction of fort suggests its significance to provide defence for the region and also to check the advance of hostile forces heading towards Delhi.

Apparently when the construction of fort was carried out, there were no expectation that the site would command influence over the promising revenue generated in western Haryana. Earlier it was Hansi which enjoyed the commanding position.¹⁴ In all likelihood after the fort was constructed and garrison stationed there, Firuz Shah thought of agriculturally developing the surroundings of the fort complex in order to meet the expenses for the maintenance of his garrison at Hissar-i-Firuz. The construction of the well known canals — the *Rajwaha* and the *Ulugh Khani*

¹² Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 124-26.

¹³ It is located at 75°44'E longitude and 29°10'N Latitude.

¹⁴ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128.

was started.¹⁵ The favourable results of the canal irrigation have been discussed in detail in Chapter I and Chapter II. The water supply to the fort complex was maintained through these canals.¹⁶ The fort had a large and deep tank inside; the water of this tank ran into the ditch constructed outside the wall and replenished it from year to year.¹⁷ The account of the structures in the Firuz's fort complex suggests that it could comfortably accommodate various offices and state functionaries. Sultan himself encouraged people to settle in the new city.¹⁸ In this regard several quarters were constructed under the care of different officers.¹⁹ Malik Dalyan is recorded as the first *shiqqdar* of Hissar-i-Firuz.²⁰

The *shiqq* Hisar-i-Firuz comprised mainly territory of the *iqtas* of Hansi, Agroha, Fatahabad, Sirsa, territory lying between Sirsa, Salura and Khizrabad.²¹ These territories were large in extent and would have provided substantial revenue.²² The promising character of Hissar-i-Firuz territory never dwindled even during adverse circumstances till it was ravaged

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 127 and 129

¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 129-30

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 126

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 128

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 126

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 128

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*, p. 130

ruthlessly by Timur in late fourteenth century.²³ Yet, it continued to function as an important administrative centre under the Lodhis.²⁴

From this time onwards, Hissar-i-Firuzā was assigned to prominent nobles and princes as *jagir*. For instance in post-Timur period it was assigned to one Qaiwan Khan by Khizr Khan (the founder of Saiyyid dynasty). He was also made incharge of Hissar-i-Firuzā which was then a *shiqq* headquarters.²⁵ As soon as the Haryana territory was occupied by Babur's forces during second decade of sixteenth century. Hissar-i-Firuzā was given as *jagir* to Humayun.²⁶ Under the Mughals, especially during early years of Akbar, Hissar-i-Firuzā was assigned to important nobles. Thus, Munim Khan managed his *jagir* through Bayazid Bayat and Muzaffar Khan Turbati.²⁷ Both of them have been noticed for their efficient works and were rewarded by Akbar. The shrine of sufi saint Shaykh Jamal-al-din Hanswi was visited by the Mughal rulers²⁸ and commoners alike. Imperial hunting grounds in the neighbourhood were visited by the Mughal rulers, with their large retinues.²⁹ All these taken together kept frequency of travel high and

²³ *Zafarnama*, (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, pp. 491-95; *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, pp. 427-29.

²⁴ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 521

²⁵ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (tr.), pp. 177 & 181.

²⁶ *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 465-466

²⁷ Bayazid, *Tarikh-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, 1587, (ed.), Hidayat Hussain, Bib. Ind., Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta, pp. 248-50 and 289 as cited by Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Political Biography of Mughal Noble: Munim Khan-i-Khanan: 1497-1575*, Delhi, 1973, p. 63; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (text), p. 55 as cited in M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of the Mughal Empire: Awards of Ranks, offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility 1574-1658*, Delhi, 1985, p. 46

²⁸ *Akbarnama*, III, (tr.), p. 328

²⁹ *ibid.*, (tr.), III, p. 186

added to relative importance of the town. A glance over the estimated revenue, for different periods goes to support our understanding about functional importance of Hissar-i-Firuzā.

Revenue figures for *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuzā

Sources	<i>Sarkar</i> Hissar-i-Firuzā revenue figures <i>dams</i>
<i>Baburnama</i>	26,150,348
<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i>	5,25,54,905
<i>Chahar Gulshan</i>	8,83,79,328

Source: *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 521; *tankas* have been converted, 1 *tanka*=2 *dams*, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 432-33; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 298-300 and *Chahar Gulshan* (tr.) in *India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Sarkar, p.187

Based on a survey, Shookohys has prepared the town plan of Hissar-i-Firuzā.³⁰ According to this plan fort complex is located on the eastern side of the present settlement. Some portions of the old town are still intact. Shookohys have also found the streets of Firuz Shah's town, which ran from Nagauri Darwaza to the eastern side of the palace.³¹ He writes :

In Hissar such a street may be that with a north-west south-east orientation passing by the eastern side of the Bazar Masjid, and leading to the citadel, probably through its eastern gateway. This street is mainly flanked by

³⁰ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, *Hissar-i-Firuzā*, pp. 12-79, illustration 3.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 14

shops and near the Bajar Masjid joins another market street. The second street also seems to have preserved its original layout, and has an east-west orientation.

The main structure of Firuz Shah's time is the palace which contains the remains of few structures – north-western area of the palace, gateway, the Lat ki Masjid, four courtyards, which are in north, south, east and north-east directions. Though Shookohys have attempted to give the architectural characteristics of this palace,³² I prefer to give version of a contemporary writer.³³

... Inside the fort they built a palace, such that no one though he reached the world could find its like. There were several courts inside the palace. The audience hall was splendidly decorated. Innumerable innovations were used. One feature in this palace was that if some one, with his wits about him come in, after passing through some of the courts, he would always end up in the centre. The central core of the palace was extremely dark, with narrow corridors, so that if the guards did not lead one, one could not find one's way out. They say that once a Chamberlain went in there alone. He was absent for several days, then the guards went in and took him out of the darkness.

Another structure of note is Jahaz Kothi of Firuz Shah's time. This is in the form of a ship.³⁴ According to Brown who visited the town in the early

³² *ibid.*, p. 17; also see illustrations 5-11, plates I a, b and d.

³³ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 126

³⁴ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, pp. 38-47, also see illustrations 15-18. Afif or any other contemporary has not identified any building with this name, which is a much later usage. Also, speculation that this building was a poor replica of a Dutch ship does not appear to be correct, since, the European ship to touch Indian shore was more than hundreded years after Firuz Shah's death.

nineteenth century, this building designed/shaped like a ship was constructed by one of the *ameers* /noble of the Sultan who had seen one ship but was not able to describe it sufficiently to the ruler. Brown has commented about this building in the following words³⁵ :

... there are several apartments and a *madrsa* in the interior. The building is wide and evidently got up in haste, and could not have given his Majesty a very good idea of clipper; some of the old Dutch men of war of VAN TROMPS time might have warranted the resemblance such as it is, and of which I enclose sketches.

A number of mosques and tombs could still be seen, though in various stages of decay. The mosques of the Tughlaq regime include Lat ki Masjid³⁶, mosque at Jahaz Kothi³⁷, the Idgah mosque³⁸, Dana Shir Masjid³⁹, Bazaar Masjid⁴⁰, Chhoti Masjid⁴¹, *madarsa* at Jaahz Kothi complex⁴² and the Idgah complex.⁴³ In addition some twenty four tombs have also been noticed by Shookohy.⁴⁴ These tombs are located outside the fort wall and belong to both pre-Mughal and early Mughal times. Most of them have square shape dome.

³⁵ William Brown, 'Account of an Ancient Temple of Hissar and the Ship Model at that Place, *JASB*, VII, 1838, pp. 429-31; also see for its plan M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, pp. 47-51 and illustrations, 19-20.

³⁶ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, pp. 32-38; also see illustrations 12-14.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 74-76 and illustration 31.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 76-77 and illustration 32.

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp. 78-79 and illustrations 33.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 51-72.

Hansi

Hansi traces its origin from ancient times.⁴⁵ It lies at 75°58'E longitude and 25°07'N latitude in the 'Haryana proper tract' and forms the southern most point of Shivalik territory.⁴⁶ The pre-Turkish evidences record it as a strong fort and seat of power which remained an attraction among the contenders in the region. According to Hansi Stone inscriptions, V.S. 1224, the early name of Hansi has been identified as Asiki, Asi and Hansi.⁴⁷ Al Beruni records it as Asi.⁴⁸ It is not clear that at what point of time it obtained the name Hansi but the Turkish, Arabic and Persian sources of eleventh and twelfth century refer to it as Hansi. These sources establish Hansi as an important vertex for the conquest of Haryana territory, heading towards Delhi. The *Tarikhu-s-Subuktigin* of Bahaqui records the conquest of Hansi.⁴⁹ It suggests its significance as a frontier town with fortification. It is also worth mentioning that before the arrival of Turks in India, Hansi served as a regional capital, a modest point of collection and distribution of food

⁴⁵ E-Fell, 'Sanskrit Inscriptions', *Asiatic Researches*, XV, Serempore, 1825, pp. 443-46; D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Some Unpublished Inscriptions', *The Indian Antiquary*, XLI, 1912, pp. 17-19; listed in *Epigraphica Indica*, (EI), XX; 1933, appendix 49, No.325. Bhandarkar identifies the fort of Asi/Asiki as that of Hansi.

⁴⁶ *Map of Hissar Region*, Army Map Service, Washington, D.C., 1968, Map No.NH 43-11; *IGI*, XIII, Oxford, 1908, p. 25; *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty, (tr.), I, p. 468-69n.

⁴⁷ D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Some Unpublished Inscriptions', *IA*, XLI, pp. 18-19

⁴⁸ Al-Beruni, *Tarikh-i-Hind (al-Beruni's India)*, (ed.) and (tr.), F. Sachau, London, 1887, p. 99 also see *India by al-Beruni* by Qeyamuddin Ahmed Khan (ed.), NBT Publication, New Delhi, p. 97. It states that the distance of this place as 18 *farsakh* from Kanoj/Kannauj.

⁴⁹ Bahaqui, *Tarikhu-s-Subuktigin*, (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...* III, pp. 135-40.

grains.⁵⁰ Hansi further gained prominence when it was declared *iqta* headquarters under Delhi Sultans and was assigned to important officers.⁵¹ Very soon it emerged as religious and cultural centre as well. Later, it participated in the collection and distribution of agricultural commodities at inter and intra regional level.

Another important reference about Hansi is found in *Masalik al absar fi Mamalik al-amsar* of Al Umari ⁵² as one of the Sultanate provinces (there were 23 provinces in the Delhi Sultanate). This piece of information establishes Hansi and its surroundings as a significant sub-region from administrative point of view. Account of Ibn Batutta⁵³ further confirms its economic and cultural importance. Its states :

It is one of the best, strongest and most prosperous of cities. It has a mighty fortification and they say that its builder was one of the greatest of the infidel kings of India - Tura by name - and there are many legends connected with it. From the city were Kamal-al-din, *Sadr-i-Jahan*, the chief *Qazi* of India; also his brothers Qutulugh Khan, the Sultans tutor and Nizam-al-din, as well as Shams-al-din, and also (who) abandoned the world and took up his abode in Mecca until his death.

This account, therefore, suggests that by mid-fourteenth century, Hansi was a significant town and had strong linkages with Delhi, which continued till the new *shahar* Hissar-i-Firuz (fort of Firuz) came into

⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty, (tr.), I, pp. XXVII, 517n and 611.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁵² Al Umari, *Masalik al absar fi Mamalik al-amsar*, (tr.), Otto Spies, p. 16 and in *A Fourteenth Century Arab Account* by I.H. Siddiqi, Aligarh, p. 9.

⁵³ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.) M. Hussain, p. 23.

existence.⁵⁴ Hansi is recorded further in *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*⁵⁵ as a big city. In the Mughal period, few references can be traced, but they do not reflect it as significant as it was in pre-Mughal times. It finds mention in *Ain-i-Akbari*⁵⁶ only as a *mahal* headquarters. The *zamindar* class included the Jats, Rajputs, Jatu and Multanis.

The fort of Hansi was considered important for any advance towards the interiors of northern India by the Ghaznavid prince Masud, son of Mahmud of Ghazna. His repeated attempts between 1016-1017 AD could not achieve success in subduing the fort.⁵⁷ However, it could be captured only in 1036 after ten days' fierce battle, when five points of the fort wall were badly damaged.⁵⁸ Thereafter, it was attached with the territories of Lahore and Multan which were significant politico-economic centres of eleventh century.⁵⁹ Evidence is not available to tell us as to how and when this fort passed into the hands of the Chauhan ruler Prithviraj who made considerable additions to the fort of Hansi.⁶⁰ In the last decade of the twelfth century when the Chauhan ruler Prithviraj III was defeated by Mohammad Ghori in the battle of Tarain/Taraori (*qasba* settlement), the town of Hansi

⁵⁴ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* p. 124 and (tr.), Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 73.

⁵⁵ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (tr.), K.K. Basu, Baroda, 1953, pp. 130-31.

⁵⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 299

⁵⁷ Bahaqui, *Tarikh-i-Subuktigin*, (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, p. 140. Also see M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, p. 80n.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 140

⁵⁹ For details on Lahore see M. Baqir, *Lahore, Past and Present* 1985, pp. 25-27; Also see K.K. Trivedi, 'Lahore As A Centre Of Economic Growth', A.D. 1000-1700', pp. 1-4. For details on Multan See H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 11-14

⁶⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty, (tr.), I, pp. 468-69.

was taken over by Ghorian conquerors and they made it their first military post and declared it to be the headquarters in the Sivalik territory.⁶¹ The first Turkish governor seems to have been *siphasalar* Taj-al-din, who carved an inscriptions in a niche of *rauda*/shrine of Shaykh Shah Ni'matullah in the old fort complex of Hansi.⁶² The text of this inscription refers to the construction of Jami mosque by Taj-al-din.⁶³ Though the full name of Taj-al-din is not clearly decipherable in the inscription, it could be read as Mir Tamaran / Amir Tamran or most probably Malik Taj-al-din Tamaran or Tamrani.⁶⁴ Under Iltutmish (1210-36), the crown prince Abdul Fatah Mahmud remained incharge of Hansi till 1226 A.D.⁶⁵ For this period we have epigraphic testimony telling us about the construction of a tomb for a noble lady whose identity is not traceable.⁶⁶ Malik Saifuddin Kuchi, who was made incharge of this territory in the closing years of Iltutmish acted against the

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² This inscription is in Arabic (24th October, 1197). It reads: "this mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (of God) Ali, son of Isfandar... A.H. 593'. P. Horn, 'Muhammadan Inscriptions for *Subah* of Delhi'; *EI*, II, Delhi, 1970, p. 430; H. Blochmann, 'Delmerick's Inscriptions', *JASB*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 121; H.B.W. Garrick, 'Report of a Tour in Punjab and Rajasthan in 1883-84', *ASIR*, XXIII, Varanasi, p. 15; C.J. Rodgers, *Revised list of the Objects of Archaeological Interests in Punjab*, Delhi, 1953, p. 20, plates 3.12. Also see M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, 'The Architecture of Baha-al-din Tughril in the Region of Bayana', Rajasthan, *Muqarnas*, IV, 1987, Fig. 8 and 20

⁶³ *ibid.* This Jami mosque remained in use till the time of partition. At present it is used as Gurdwara. M.H. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, pp. 86 and 92.

⁶⁴ P. Horn, 'Muhammadan Inscription for *Subah*, of Delhi', *EI*, II, Delhi, 1970, p.430.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 628

⁶⁶ The remains of this tomb are not available but this inscription is one of the earliest dated epigraph connected with a Sultanate tomb. It dates six years earlier than the inscription of Sultan Garhi in Delhi, which was built in 1231-32 in the memory of Abul Fath Mahmud, the governor of Hansi who pre-deceased his father Iltutmish in 1228-29. See, J. Horowitz, 'Inscriptions of Muhammad bin-Sam, Qutub-ud-din Aibak and Iltutmish', *EIM*, 1911-12, pp. 23-24; P. Horn, 'Muhammadan inscription for *Subah* of Delhi', *EI*, II, p. 435.

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In the last I acknowledge the efforts of SAM Compucare & Graphics, New Delhi for typing the manuscript without serious faults.



Adhya Bharti Saxena

Sultanate to clear the territory of the recalcitrant elements in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital.

Once Hansi's strategic and administrative significance was realised by the early Delhi Sultans, the later rulers continued to keep it under their control. Some construction activity was, therefore, carried out in the fort of Hansi during the regime of the Khaljis.⁷⁴ The fort of Hansi was also used for keeping the royal prisoners.⁷⁵ Similarly, the Tughlaq Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din captured places in the Hansi-Sirsa sub-region while heading towards Delhi.⁷⁶ By the middle of fourteenth century Hansi emerged as significant political centre with considerable urban activity. Ibn Batutta records about it as important city which housed important people.⁷⁷

Hansi also grew into a centre of Sufi order. Hazrat Sayyid Shah Ni'matullah is believed to have come to Hansi along with Mohammad Ghori. He was killed at the time of the conquest of the fort of Hansi. The fort of Hansi houses the shrine/*rauda* of Shah Ni'matullah.⁷⁸ It occupies the eastern part of the citadel. It consists of remains of tombs, the mosques, an ancient well, a gateway and other enclosed structures. Later, the Chisti *silsilah*

⁷⁴ H. Blochmann, 'Delmerick's Inscriptions...', *PASB*, XXLVI, Calcutta, 1877, p. 122; G. Yazdani, 'Inscriptions of Khalji Sultans of Delhi', *EIM*, 1917-18, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 18-19; J. Horowitz, 'A List of Published Muhammadan Inscriptions of India', *EIM*, 1990-10, Calcutta, 1912, p. 93, no. 762; P. Horn, *EI*, II, Delhi, 1970, p. 434.

⁷⁵ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 249.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 380; (tr.) Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 143-45; Amir Khusrau, *Tughlaqnama*, (tr.) Rizvi, *Khalji Kalin Bharat*, pp. 188-189 & 190. Also see A *Comprehensive History of India...*, V, pp. 453-54.

⁷⁷ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), M. Hussain, p. 23.

⁷⁸ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, Fig. 35 and 36; illustrations XX and XXI.

founded by Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti when transformed into organised spiritual order⁷⁹ was initiated at Hansi by Shaykh Farid-ud-din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar.⁸⁰ He established his *khanqah* (hospice) at Hansi. One of his prominent disciple Shaykh Jamal-ud-din Hanswi, who was the descendent of Abu Hanifah of Kufah (1187-1261), was a *khatib* of Hansi.⁸¹ Abul Fazl⁸² has narrated his excellence in spiritual field and relationship with Shaykh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar in the following words: 'to whomsoever the Shaykh Farid gave a certificate took effect. If he (Jamal) did not approve, the Shaykh Farid would say that what Jamal tore up, Farid could not repair'. Descendents of Jamal-ud-din stayed at Hansi and were revered both by Delhi Sultans and the local people. Shaykh Jamal-al-din was succeeded by Maulana Buhar-ud-din-Sufi⁸³ who in turn was succeeded by Qutub-ud-din-Munawar⁸⁴ and Nur-al-din Nur-i-Jahan⁸⁵ respectively. In this way Hansi emerged as a centre of spiritual and mystic thought and continued to be so under the supervision of low ranking spiritual teachers (*qutbs*). The followers of Shaykh Jamal-ud-din and his successors are known as Jamalīs in India.⁸⁶ The entire complex comprising the graves of these *qutbs* is famous as *Dargaha Chahar Qutb*. It is situated outside the old fortification towards the west. The complex

⁷⁹ K.A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th century*, Aligarh, 1961, p. 191

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ Amir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, Delhi, 1302 A.H., p. 178 as cited in K.A. Nizami, p. 192

⁸² *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), III, p. 411

⁸³ Amir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 78-82 as cited in K.A. Nizami, p. 193.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, as cited in K.A. Nizami, pp. 257-66.

⁸⁵ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 132-34.

⁸⁶ *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* Delhi, 1309 A.H. (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, VI, p. 487.

contains the 'throne' of Shaykh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar, the shrine of Jamal-al-din and his three successors, the domed entrance, chamber to the complex the mosque of Akhyar Jalwani (Lodhi period) and the buildings used as *khanqah* (hospice) for pilgrims. During the sixteenth century Akbar visited the shrine of Shaykh Jamal-al-din.⁸⁷

The survey of Hansi fort complex and the structures outside⁸⁸ suggests that Hansi was considerably populated. The administrative authorities stayed in the fort complex while the outside town was inhabited by the local people. It is important to note that the medieval Hansi was constructed and adapted to fulfil the defensive requirements of pre-Mughal and Mughal period.

Sirsa

Sirsa, like Hansi, traces its origin in antiquity.⁸⁹ The pre-Turkish sources records it as Sirsuti/Sursuti.⁹⁰ The name continued in pre-Mughal times.⁹¹ However, *Ain-i-Akbari* records the place as Sirsa with a brick fort.⁹² It is not clear from the sources that at what point name Sirsa became more

⁸⁷ *Akbarnama*, (tr.), III, p. 328n

⁸⁸ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, pp. 87-110

⁸⁹ Alexander Cunningham, 'A Report of a Tour in Punjab and Rajasthan in 1883-84', *ASIR*, XXIII, pp. 8-9.

⁹⁰ Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, 'Six Inscription's in the Lahore Museum', *EI*, XXI, pp. 294-295.

⁹¹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.) Raverty, I, pp. 466n, 468n, 491, 529n, 532-33n, 611n, 627, 688; II, pp. 731, 755, 812n, 837; Al-Umari, *Masalik al absar fi Mamalik al amsar*, (tr.), Otto Spies, p. 16 and in *A Fourteenth Century Arab Account* by I.H. Siddiqi, p. 9; Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.) M. Hussain, p. 23.

⁹² *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.) II, p. 299.

prominent in use, yet the place continued to be also addressed as Sursuti/Sirsuti. It is located on the northern side of river Ghaggar in 'Bhattiana tract' at 29°32'N latitude and 75°2'E longitude.⁹³ During pre-Mughal times the alternate route between Delhi-Lahore-Multan passed through Sirsa.⁹⁴ The pre-Sultanate reference about Sirsa relates to the construction and possibly donation of land for the maintenance of a temple of Siva by one Acharya Nilkantha of Pashupat sect.⁹⁵ An *Adivarah* type of coin of Bhojdeva has also been found at Sirsa.⁹⁶ These evidences support an understanding that Sirsa was a settlement of some prominence.

The first reference to Sirsa in medieval sources is traced in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.⁹⁷ Turkish invaders and Delhi Sultans both showed their interest for control over the place from time to time. In fact, the occupation of Hansi-Sirsa territory greatly helped the new rulers. From early years of Sultanate, Sirsa emerged as a significant check-post and soon it was given the status of *iqta* headquarters. Al Umari records it as a province from early fourteenth century.⁹⁸ Later, Ibn Batutta, mentions it as 'a big city' ⁹⁹ and he also accounts for its material prosperity and production. According to Ibn Batutta

⁹³ *Map of Hissar Region*, Army Map Service, Map No. NH43-11, Washington, D.C.; IGI, XXIII, 1908, p. 45

⁹⁴ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), M. Hussain, p. 23

⁹⁵ Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, 'Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum', *EI*, XXI, p. 294-95.

⁹⁶ S.R. Phogat, *Archaeology of Rohtak and Hissar Districts*, Unpublished Thesis, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, 1978, pp. 247-48. These coins are preserved at the Kurukshetra University.

⁹⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty, (tr.), I, p. 491.

⁹⁸ Al Umari, *Masalik al absar fi Mamalik al amsar*, (tr.), Otto Spies, p. 57 and in *A Fourteenth Century Arab Account* by I.H. Siddiqi, p. 9.

⁹⁹ Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.) M. Hussain, p. 23.

Sirsa produced fine quality rice which had a market in the Sultanate capital—Delhi. The account of Afif inform us about its active involvement in local trade.¹⁰⁰ It is reported that Sultan Firuz Shah was offered several lakh of *tankas* by the grocers and bankers. The money thus obtained was used for the payment of the salary of the army. This instance intends to show that the substantial merchants and bankers lived in Sirsa to conduct their business. Sirsa's prosperity is also reflected from one of the inscription dated 7th February, 1332. I am giving the translation of this inscription: ¹⁰¹

...the Sultan of the land and sea, Muhammad the kings of the kings, for the sake of the stability of the kingdom, this house was completed, this place is lucky and auspicious at this state...in order that he may himself go for some business from the direction... He built this edifice from the taxes of his kingdom. God will give him an emerald castle in paradise.

In the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* it is stated that Sirsa was a big town inhabited by a large population. Its wealth attracted Timur and he plundered it.¹⁰² Though Sirsa does not find mention after Timur's invasion and is also not part of the list given by Babur for the revenue details of Sikandar Shah Lodhi,¹⁰³ it appears that Sirsa continued as a centre for administrative purposes. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* it was a *mahal* headquarters.¹⁰⁴ It

¹⁰⁰ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 59 and (tr.) Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, p. 282.

¹⁰¹ H. Blochmann, 'Delmerick's Inscriptions from Abohar and Sirsa', *PASB*, Calcutta (1875), pp. 72-73. Also see Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions: In Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁰² *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, pp. 427-28; *Zafarnama* (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, pp. 491-92.

¹⁰³ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 521

¹⁰⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 299.

generated revenue of 4,361,388 *dams* and had 258,355 *bighas* as *arazi*. Johiyas are recorded as the sole *zamindars* here.¹⁰⁵

Fatahabad

Located between Sirsa and Hissar, in the south-east of Sirsa, was a village settlement called Ikdar.¹⁰⁶ While on way to Delhi from Multan, Firuz Shah received two favourable news at this village: firstly, the capture of power at Delhi by his supporters and secondly, the birth of his first son. In gratitude he called the place Fatahabad.¹⁰⁷ In order to legitimise his succession he also got engraved an inscription on the column which now stands at the old site of Fatahabad.¹⁰⁸ Thus, this small village assumed importance. It is located at 75°25'E longitude and 29°30'N latitude of the 'proper Haryana tract'.¹⁰⁹

Sultan Firuz Shah took some interest in Ikdar/Fatahabad perhaps for two reasons: firstly its strategic location and secondly its location along the

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.* Also see Denzil Ibbeston, *Punjab Castes*, Delhi, 1916, p. 146. One of the 36 royal races of Rajputs, found in the tracts of Haryana, Bhattiana, Bhatnair and Nagor. Joiyas in the Hissar region traces their origin from Bhatnair.

¹⁰⁶ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 65 and (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, p. 283.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p. 70 and (tr.), Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 60-61 and Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, pp. 282-83

¹⁰⁸ A Cunningham, *ASIR*, V, 1875, p. 142; *ASIR*, XXII, 1887, p. 11 and illustration 2; 'Muhammadan Inscriptions for the Subah of Delhi', *EI*, I, Calcutta, 1894, pp. 159 and 424; P.J. Fagan, *Gazetteer of Hissar District*, 1892, Lahore p. 48; *IGI*, XII, Oxford, 1908, p. 74.

¹⁰⁹ *Map of Hissar Region*, Army Map Service, Washington D.C., 1968. Map No. NH43-11; *IGI, Provincial Series Punjab*, I, Calcutta, 1908, p. 248; *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B.

trade route.¹¹⁰ The village site developed into a *qasba*/township and was also made *iqta* headquarters. When Firuz's canal-project was undertaken one branch of the feeder canal was brought upto Fatahabad.¹¹¹ Sirsa was annexed to *shiq* Hissar-i-Firuz for administrative convenience.¹¹²

According to the survey by the team of Shookohys, old Fatahabad was situated on the eastern side of the modern town.¹¹³ Fatahabad was arranged in two parts: the smaller part of the town was on a higher level towards north and the main part of the town at a lower level towards the south. A small citadel was perhaps located on the mound situated at the eastern side, presently known as the *Purana Kila*. This finds testimony in *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*.¹¹⁴ Fatahabad also attracted the attention of Humayun who stayed here for some time while he was on his way to Amarkot. He offered prayers in Jami mosque which contains two epigraphs and is located in old citadel.¹¹⁵ This mosque is known as Humayun Padshah ki Masjid. The text of the epigraphs refers to one Amir Rustam Beg and another Abdul Karim.¹¹⁶ Fatahabad continued to enjoy its administrative position as it is recorded as *pargana* headquarters in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuz.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, f. 82a, as cited in H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism Under the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 101.

¹¹¹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 127 and (tr.), Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 128 and (tr.), Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 75.

¹¹³ M. Shookohy and N.H. Shookohy, p. 116

¹¹⁴ Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, ff. 81b-82a, as cited in H.K. Naqvi, *Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 101

¹¹⁵ P.Horn, 'Mohammadan Inscriptions....', pp. 424-50; *ASIR*, XXIII, 1883-84, plate 3; *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 81, no.607.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 300.

Thanesar

Thanesar traces its origin in antiquity.¹¹⁸ However, the information of Thanesar region is available from the inscription of Garibnath temple of Bhojadeva¹¹⁹ and also in the inscription of Mahendrapala (890 - 910 AD).¹²⁰ These evidences establish that the region remained under the influence of Tomars and probably Thanesar served as the seat of power in the pre-Turkish period. It was a prosperous town before the advent of Turkish invasion.¹²¹ Its location and the past account attracted the attention of new rulers at Delhi who chose it as one of the significant headquarters along with Hansi in the Haryana territory.¹²² Al-Beruni has recorded its location with respect to Kannauj and Mathura which were then major urban settlements of north India.¹²³

Thanesar was frequented by imperial authorities. These visits were either for hunting purposes or halts while they moved towards Sirhind, Lahore etc. Sher Shah Suri is recorded to visit this place and is reported to have placed it under Khwas Khan.¹²⁴ When Sher Shah Suri took over the project of construction of roads, *sarais*, bridges, etc. the route passed through Haryana territory and Thanesar served the purpose of the halting stage. The

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 286-88.

¹¹⁹ *EI*, I, p. 184

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 242

¹²¹ V.N. Datta and H.A. Phadke, (ed.), *History of Kurukshetra*, pp. 17-18

¹²² *Futuh-us-Salatin*, (tr.), I. p. 123.

¹²³ *Al-Beruni's India*, E. Sachau, (ed.) and (tr.), I, p. 117

¹²⁴ *Tarikh-i-Daudi in Sur Vamsha Ka Itihasa*, Delhi, 1971, p. 400

remnants of Sher Shah's *sarai* can still be traced.¹²⁵ Akbar visited Thanesar while proceeding towards Delhi in 1556.¹²⁶ He also visited to pay tributes to Shaykh Jalal Thanesari who was a prominent sufi saint.¹²⁷ The other visit of Akbar is recorded by Abul Fazl which took place on the occasion of solar eclipse.¹²⁸ Thanesar was visited by large number of people. Akbar settled a dispute between two religious sects who were quarrelling over the possession of gold, silver, jewels and the valuable stuff, which was thrown into the holy water by pilgrims.¹²⁹ The other visit to the place was made by Akbar in 1585.¹³⁰ Emperor Jahanghir visited it in 1622.¹³¹ William Finch gives description of Thanesar during Jahangir's reign as a halting stage. It had a sacred tank, a castle and a temple.¹³² He also informs us of the existence of sal-ammoniac pits¹³³ which finds further mention in the English Factory Records.¹³⁴ These accounts establish Thanesar's economic significance along with its sacredness. Though we do not find definite information about *sarais* but above activities might have encouraged construction of such halting stages.¹³⁵

¹²⁵ H.A. Phadke, *Haryana: Ancient and Medieval*, p. 183.

¹²⁶ *Akbarnama*, (tr.) II, p. 45

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 442 - 44

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, (tr.), II, p. 500

¹³¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), II, p. 250

¹³² William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.) W. Foster, pp. 157 - 58.

¹³³ *ibid.*; Pelsaert, *Remonstrante*, (tr.) in *Jahangir's India*, p. 45

¹³⁴ *EFI*, (1637-41), p. 134

¹³⁵ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (tr.), I, pp. 7-8

Shahjahan also visited Thanesar enroute Delhi - Lahore. However, we do not get any vital information regarding Thanesar during his reign. It continued to be a halting stage. It is evident from one of the inscriptions dated 11th August, 1629¹³⁶ that a mosque was constructed which was located to the south-west of Chiniwali Masjid which was probably an earlier construction either from the sixteenth century or early seventeenth century.

Bernier records the solar eclipse that occurred in second half of seventeenth century (1666) at Thanesar.¹³⁷ There was a fair on this occasion. Bernier has described it in the following words:¹³⁸

...kept with the same external observances in the Indus, in the Ganges and in the rivers and *talabs*, but above all in that at Thanesier (Thanesar) which contained on this occassion more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons assembled from all parts of the empire; its water being considered more holy and meritorious than those of others.

Thanesar also finds mention during Aurangzeb's reign. However, they are related to the disputes among the local people and local authorities¹³⁹ and are, therefore, not of much significance. After the death of Aurangzeb, it remained under the control of Banda Bahadur for some time.¹⁴⁰ In post-

¹³⁶ C.J. Rodgers, *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Panjab*, p. 50

¹³⁷ Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, (1656-1668), pp. 301-03.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Aitihāsik Phārsī Sahitya, VI, Aurangzebāchya, Darbarche Akhbar*, (ed.) G.H. Khare and G.T. Kulkarni, Bharat Itihāsa Samśhodak Mandal, Pune, 1973, pp. 34-35, 38; *Higna Daftar*, 2 Vols., (ed.), G.H. Khare, Pune, 1945, pp. 99 and 137 as cited in *History of Kurukshetra*, V.N. Datta and H.K. Phadke, (eds.), p. 114

¹⁴⁰ H.R. Gupta, *History of Sikhs*, II, p. 23

1707 period it was raided by free looters and invaders. Nadir Shah reached Thanesar on 10th November, 1739 and plundered other places like Karnal, Indri etc. in its vicinity. He gave Thanesar and its surrounding to one Nijabat Khan as *Jagir*.¹⁴¹ It was later ravaged by Ahmad Shah Abdali in second half of eighteenth century as well.¹⁴² The late eighteenth century *Memorandum* records it as a tenth stage enroute Delhi-Kabul.¹⁴³ According to Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan,

Thanesar (is) twelve *coss* (*Kos*) from Azimabad, is with all its dependencies in consequence of the industry of sikhs, very well cultivated; the *rabee* (*rabi*) crop yields in greater abundance from the kharif (*kharif*). About five *Coss* (*Kos*) from Azimabad, are the ruins of *serai* called Hajam; ... in the centre of which *Aalamger* (Alamgir) erected a mosque, which has since been destroyed.... on pilgrimage to fountains. The chief man at this place is Phoca Sinh Dalah Walesh, the *zemindars*, for the most part Sikhs, and Jats, the rest proselyte Mussulam, Rajputs, called Toon...¹⁴⁴

The account of Maulvi Abaul Kadir Khan informs about additional *zamindar* class which did not exist at the time of writing of *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁴⁵ Thus, Sikhs were the new social component in the Thanesar administrative territory.

¹⁴¹ W. Irwine, *Later Mughals*, II, p. 334

¹⁴² H.R. Gupta, *History of Sikhs*, II, p. 126

¹⁴³ Maulvi Muhammad Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route Between Delhi and Cabul,' p. 17

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 301

The various references sufficiently establish Thanesar as a sacred centre. Besides having a holy tank, temples, etc., it remained a sufi centre as well. The *silsilahs* which were active in contemporary times were Chisti and Naqshabandi. Among the prominent sufi saints were Hajrat Jalal-ud-din,¹⁴⁶ Shaykh Abul Fatah of Thanesari,¹⁴⁷ Haji Sultan Thanesari etc.¹⁴⁸ The other sects which remained prevalent were Jains, Nath Panthis and Sikhism. Sikhism had its base at Thanesar. The Sikh Gurus visited it and constructed religious structures. Among the Gurus, who visited Thanesar were Guru Nanak¹⁴⁹, Guru Amar Das¹⁵⁰ and Guru Teg Bahadur.¹⁵¹

Numerous medieval structures have been traced at Thanesar. The inscriptions found here indicate the construction of buildings during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Bahlol and Sikandar Lodhi, Humayun etc. These structures are mosques, *madarsa* and tombs. The structures which survive to date are Pathariya Masjid, the tombs of Shykh Jalal-ud-din, Shaykh Chehali, the *madarsa* and the Chiniwali Masjid.

The Pathariya Masjid is in red sand stone to which Cunningham assigns the construction date during Firuz Shah's period. However, Rodgers suggest its construction during the reign of Sikandar Lodhi.¹⁵² Tomb of

¹⁴⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), I, p. 607 and (tr.) III, p. 374

¹⁴⁷ *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, (tr.) III, pp. 187-88.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 173-74

¹⁴⁹ Max Arthur Macaullife, *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*, I, 1963, pp. 47-50

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, II, pp. 109-10

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, IV, p. 342

¹⁵² A. Cunningham, 'Four Reports Made During the Years 1862-63-64-65', *ASIR*, II, p. 222

Shaykh Jalal-ud-din is also in red sand stone and is located in the east of the fort. The *madarsa* and the tomb of Shaykh Chehali in one part of the fort complex.¹⁵³

Panipat

Along the frequented Lahore-Delhi route were numerous settlements which sprang to the size of *qasba*. Panipat is such a case, which finds mention in Al-Beruni's account.¹⁵⁴ The other mention to it is in *Baburnama*.¹⁵⁵ Panipat owes its popularity due to three decisive battles in 1526, 1556 and 1761. Its strategic importance attracted the imperial authorities for its growth, but no significant development is observed during the study period. *Ain-i-Akbari* records it merely as a *mahal* headquarters with a brick fort.¹⁵⁶ The details of construction of fort are not traceable but it is now established that by the time of Sikandar Lodhi it emerged as a sufi centre as well. The tomb of Shaykh Jalal-ud-din¹⁵⁷ can still be traced and in present times an *urs* is held here every year.

The inscriptions found at Panipat suggest that it had numerous structures constructed since fifteenth century. There are mosques, tombs, *madarsa*, gardens, gates etc. Among the significant mosques is Kabuli mosque¹⁵⁸, the garden attached is Char

¹⁵³ C.J. Rodgers, *Revised List of the Archaeological Interests in Panjab*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵⁴ *Al-Beruni's India*, (ed.) and (tr.), E. Sachau, I, p. 205

¹⁵⁵ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p. 469

¹⁵⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 291

¹⁵⁷ *Akbarnama*, (tr.), II, p. 60

¹⁵⁸ *EI*, II, p. 137

Bagh¹⁵⁹, tombs of Bu Ali Qalandar¹⁶⁰, Shaykh Jamal-ud-din¹⁶¹, Muqbul Khan¹⁶² and Ibrahim Lodhi¹⁶³, Nazar Khana¹⁶⁴, Gate of Nawab Sadiq Khan¹⁶⁵ etc.

The Kabuli mosque of Babur was constructed by the end of 1527¹⁶⁶ and the Char Bagh by 1528.¹⁶⁷ This mosque and garden seem to be constructed in order to commemorate the defeat of Ibrahim Lodhi, Sultan of Delhi by Babur at that time.

It developed into a production centre of cloth which was coarse.¹⁶⁸ It has been compared with Samana cloth and occupied the market of distant places like Sirhind, Samana, Lahore etc.¹⁶⁹ It attracted the English merchants as well.¹⁷⁰ It is recorded as large town during the seventeenth century¹⁷¹ and continued with its size and prosperity during the eighteenth

¹⁵⁹ Catherine, B. Asher, 'The Beginning of Mughal Architecture', *The New Cambridge History of India, Architecture of Mughal India*, Delhi, 1995, p. 21.

¹⁶⁰ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 17-18

¹⁶¹ C.J. Rodgers, *Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in Panjab*, p. 60.

¹⁶² Subhash Parihar, *Muslims Inscriptions : In Panjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh*, p. 55

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 56

¹⁶⁴ C.J. Rodgers, 'Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in Panjab', p. 59

¹⁶⁵ Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions In Panjab , Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, p. 56

¹⁶⁶ *EI*, (A & P Supplement), 1965, pp. 55-56

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 53-55

¹⁶⁸ *EFI*, (1637-41), p. 134

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, and *EFI*, (1618-21), p. 168.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

century as well. Muhammad Kadir Khan has recorded it as a sixth stage moving from Delhi towards Kabul.¹⁷²

Sonepat

Moving towards Delhi, one finds another halting stage.¹⁷³ Monserrate, visited Sonepat and found it of considerable size.¹⁷⁴ Accordingly, Sonepat was famous for arms manufacture such as swords, daggers, steel points for spears, pikes and javelline etc. The artisans of this craft resided at this place.¹⁷⁵

Sonepat had a brick fort¹⁷⁶ and other medieval structures like mosques, tombs etc. The earliest mosque was constructed during the reign of Balban by one Mir Beg who was then *mufti* of Sonepat.¹⁷⁷ A *sarai* of Babur's period is also recorded.¹⁷⁸ Among the popular mosques were that of *Qazizadas* which was built by Habibullah in 1540.¹⁷⁹ The tombs of significant personalities included that of Imam Nasir¹⁸⁰, Khwaja Khizr

¹⁷² Maulvi Muhammad Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route Between Delhi and Cabul', p. 16

¹⁷³ De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mughal*, (tr.), p. 49; William Finch, *Early Travels in India*, (ed.), p. 157; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, p.78; *Chahar Gulshan in India of Aurangzeb* by J. N. Sarkar, p.172.

¹⁷⁴ Monserrate, *The Commentory on His Journey to the Court of Akbar*, (tr.), p.95.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 292

¹⁷⁷ *EI*, II, p. 138-39

¹⁷⁸ *EI*, (A & P Supplement), 1965, p. 66

¹⁷⁹ Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions: In Panjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh*, p. 64

¹⁸⁰ *EI*, II, pp. 141 and 143

Khan¹⁸¹ etc. Some of these structures were repaired during the reign of Akbar.

Rewari

Located at 28°12'N latitude and 76°38'E longitude, presently along the Delhi-Jaipur road in south Haryana.¹⁸² According to traditions, it was built by one Raja Rao or Rawat who called it after his daughter Rewati.¹⁸³ It was assigned as an *iqta* headquarters to Balban for some time.¹⁸⁴ Rewari emerged as a *sarkar* headquarters in the sixteenth century,¹⁸⁵ with twelve *mahals* and estimated revenue of 35,222,658 *dams*.¹⁸⁶ Revenue of *mahal* Rewari alone was 11,906,847 *dams*.¹⁸⁷ Rewari emerged as sacred centres due to the seat of sufi saints and hindu shrines.

Rewari is also recorded as one of the halting stage along the route from Delhi towards Ajmer in Rajputana as mentioned in *Chahar Gulshan*.¹⁸⁸ This route passed from the following stages: Delhi-Sarai Alawadi, Pataudi-Rewari-Kot Putli - Bardwara-Chuksar-Sambahar village-Murda-Sarsara (?). This route further extended from Ajmer to Thatta. The *zamindar* castes recorded in Rewari and its surrounding settlements were Rajputs, Ahirs,

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B

¹⁸³ *IGI*, XIII, Oxford, 1908, p. 45

¹⁸⁴ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (text), p. 281

¹⁸⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 298

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Chahar Gulshan in India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Sarkar, p. 175

Jats, Thathars and others.¹⁸⁹ Rewari was benefitted from the transit trade in food grains.

Narnaul

Narnaul is another significant settlement of south Haryana and is recorded as a *shahar*/city in the medieval literature. *Ain-i-Akbari* records it as *sarkar* headquarters of Agra *suba* with sixteen *mahals*.¹⁹⁰ Various explanations are offered to its name based on traditions or the meaning of the word.¹⁹¹ However, the word Narnaul remained prevalent throughout. Its importance as a town increased during the reign of Akbar. Besides being the *sarkar* headquarters, it is also recorded as a mint-town.¹⁹² It minted both copper and silver coins. The mint remained opened in operation during the reign of Aurangzeb as well.¹⁹³ The selection of Narnaul as a minting centre suggests its growing importance in the region during the contemporary times. Narnaul and its surroundings are also recorded of consisting of copper mines.¹⁹⁴

The contemporary period evidenced construction of numerous structures. The major initiative was taken during the reign of Akbar. Shah

¹⁸⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 298

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 204-05

¹⁹¹ Alexander Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in Punjab and Rajasthan', *ASIR*, XX, pp. 26-27

¹⁹² *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 27; Also see C.R. Singhal, *Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, Bombay, 1953, p. 34

¹⁹³ C.R. Singhal, *Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 5-6; P. L. Gupta, 'A Study of Mint Towns of Akbar', in *Essays Presented to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar*, (ed.), H.R. Gupta, Hoshiarpur, 1958, pp. 154-69.

¹⁹⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 192

Quli Khan, an official of Akbar, is credited to have constructed buildings which find reference in contemporary chronicles as well.¹⁹⁵ The tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul is considered a master piece.¹⁹⁶ Narnaul has a beautiful tank and a pavillion which was built in 1590-91.¹⁹⁷ This pavillion of Shah Quli Khan is known as Jal Mahal.¹⁹⁸

The other structures of Narnaul trace their origin to pre-Mughal times. Some examples are — tomb of Pir Turk or Shah Wilayat which dates back to 1136 AD¹⁹⁹, tomb of Ibrahim Shah (1540-45)²⁰⁰, mosque by Shah Quli Khan constructed in 1587²⁰¹, tomb of Shah Nizam²⁰², mosque of Shah Nizam²⁰³ and a caravan *sarai* built by Mukund Das.²⁰⁴ This *sarai* was constructed under the superintendentship of Mehtarpur Mal.²⁰⁵ The shrine of thirteenth century sufi saint/*pir* Shaykh Muhammad Turk Narnauli is also located in this town.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁵ *Akhbar- al-Akhiyar*, (Deoband n.d.), pp. 53-54 as cited in Catherine B. Asher, 'Sub Imperial Patronage' *The New Cambridge History of India, Architecture of Mughal India*, Delhi, 1995, p. 82

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ G. Yazdani, 'Narnaul and Its Buildings', *JPASB*, 1907, (new series), III, Calcutta, 1908, p. 640

²⁰⁰ *ibid*, p. 584

²⁰¹ *ibid*, p. 641

²⁰² *ibid*, p. 640

²⁰³ *ibid*, pp 641-42

²⁰⁴ *ibid*, pp. 583-84

²⁰⁵ *ibid*

²⁰⁶ Catherine B. Asher, 'Sub Imperial Patronage', *The New Cambridge History, architecture of Mughal India*, p. 82

Firuzpur Jhirka

The tradition establishes its name as Jharka which was derived from the springs of water which spurt from the rocks.²⁰⁷ A fortification is recorded at this settlement.²⁰⁸ During pre-Mughal times it remained the stronghold of Mewati²⁰⁹ and Khanzada chiefs. Babur visited its surroundings and described it in the following words: ‘...I mounted and rode out from the camp, for the double purpose of seeing the country, and of conducting Humayun to some distance on his way. That day I went to visit Firuzpur and its fountain, and took a Majur. In the valley from which the water of the fountain flows, the *kanir* flowers were all in full bloom... and next morning rode to visit the tank of Kotila’.²¹⁰ Much is not known about it during the Mughal times. However, *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions about it as a *mahal* headquarters.²¹¹

However, a number of towns that have emerged as prominent centres in the present day context do not appear to be so in the period of study. These can not be, therefore, taken up for discussions separately. Moreover, evidence about their participation in administrative, economic activities related to our period are difficult to find. We, therefore, have put them at one place and have mentioned the context in which they have been noted in the

²⁰⁷ A. Cunningham, ‘Report of a Tour of Panjab and Rajasthan’, *ASIR*, XX, p. 127

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 127-28

²⁰⁹ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p.578; A.Cunningham, ‘Report of a Tour of Panjab and Rajasthan’, *ASIR*, XX, p. 128

²¹⁰ *ibid.*

²¹¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 204

contemporary sources. The names of the places have been compiled in alphabetical order.

Ambala

It finds mention in traveler's account to be located on Delhi-Lahore route.²¹² Tavernier has accounted about the existence of *sarai* at *Ambala*.²¹³ It is recorded as the twelfth stage in number from Delhi to Kabul and in 1792 had several (*pucca*) tanks and palatial buildings.²¹⁴

Faridabad

It is recorded as a halting stage along Delhi-Agra route in post-*Ain period*. It emerged due to the initiatives of Shaykh Farid Bukhari²¹⁵ who was the treasurer of Jahangir. Faridabad owes its name to Shaykh Farid Bukhari.²¹⁶ It is located between 27°51'15" and 28°38'52"N latitude and 77°04'30" and 77°32'50"E longitude.²¹⁷ Other significant references to it are made either in travelers account and *Chahar Gulshan*.²¹⁸ During 1605-06 a mosque was constructed by Murtaza Khan.²¹⁹ This place also had a tank (*talab*), a *sarai* between Faridabad and Narela.²²⁰

²¹² De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, (tr.), p. 49

²¹³ Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, p. 77

²¹⁴ Maulvi Muhammad Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route between Delhi and Cabul', p. 15.

²¹⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), I, p. 457

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

²¹⁷ *IGI*, III, Oxford, 1908, p. 28

²¹⁸ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, William Foster, (ed.), p. 155; *Chahar Gulshan in India of Aurangzeb*, by J.N. Sarkar, p. 172

²¹⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), I, p. 688

²²⁰ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, William Foster, (ed.), p. 155

Ganaur

A significant halting stage enroute Delhi - Lahore finds mention in *Ain-i-Akbari* as a *mahal* of *sarkar* Delhi.²²¹ *Ain-i-Akbari* informs us of the existence of a brick fort.⁽³⁴⁹⁾ However, it is not clear that at what point of time this structure was constructed. Reference to Ganaur as a halting stage is found in accounts of DeLaet²²², William Finch²²³, Tavernier²²⁴ and Rai Chaturman Saksena.²²⁵ Ganaur was agriculturally potent like other *mahals* in the Delhi *suba*. If one compares the *zamindar* caste of eighteenth century with that of *Ain's* time, one finds that muslim cultivators were the addition in comparison to sixteenth century.²²⁶

Gharaunda

Gharaunda was another halting stage which gained prominence from a rural settlement to a *gasba* settlement in seventeenth century. A *sarai* was constructed by Firuz Khan during the reign of Shahjahan.²²⁷ This *sarai* is recorded as Mughal Sarai which was of massive size.²²⁸ It lies between Karnal and Panipat. Mention to this *sarai* is made in European travelers

²²¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 292

⁽³⁴⁹⁾ *ibid.*

²²² De Laet, *The Empire of Great Mogul*, (tr.), p. 49

²²³ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, William Foster, (ed.), p. 158

²²⁴ Tavernier, *Early Travels in India*, I, p. 78

²²⁵ *Chahar Gulshan in India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Sarkar, p. 172

²²⁶ Maulvi Muhammad Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route Between Delhi and Cabul', p. 15

²²⁷ Captain Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, I, p. 105

²²⁸ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Karawansaray of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures', pp. 116-17, 129, 137-38.

account²²⁹ and *Chahar Gulshan*.²³⁰ *Memorandum* of the eighteenth century inform us that the Gharaunda was 8 *coss* (*kos*) from Panipat and was the *zamindari* of Mandhar Rajputs.²³¹

Hodal

Hodal as a halting stage gained prominence along Delhi-Agra route during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, it is recorded as *mahal* of *sarkar* Sahar in Agra *suba*.²³² Hodal and its territory remained agriculturally rich. It also had a *sarai* which is recorded by De Laet²³³, William Finch²³⁴, Tavernier²³⁵ and Rai Chaturman Saksena.²³⁶ According to De Laet, it is located at 117 miles distance from Agra.²³⁷ Manucci stayed at this place for a night.²³⁸ He found it as a small settlement of *gasba* level.²³⁹

Karnal

Karnal was located along the frequented Delhi-Lahore route. It does not find mention in pre-Mughal sources. However, the traditions establish its origin in antiquity. The first definite mention comes from *Ain-i-Akbari* as

²²⁹ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.), W. Foster, p. 157

²³⁰ *Chahar Gulshan* in *India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Sarkar, p. 172

²³¹ Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of Route from Delhi to Cabul', p. 16

²³² *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 206

²³³ De Laet, *The Empire of Great Mogul*, (tr.), p. 47

²³⁴ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, William Foster, (ed.), p. 155

²³⁵ Tavernier, *Early Travels in India*, I, p. 85

²³⁶ *Chahar Gulshan*, in *India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Sarkar, p. 172.

²³⁷ De Laet, *The Empire of Great Mogul*, p. 47.

²³⁸ Manucci, *Storio do Mogor*, I, (tr.), p. 69

²³⁹ *ibid.*

a *mahal* headquarters in *sarkar* Delhi.²⁴⁰ According to *Ain*, the stream of Sanjauli flowed below the town.²⁴¹ Karnal is known for its agricultural potential and it extracted 5,678,242 *dams* from 540,444 *bighas*.²⁴² The *zamindar* castes were Ranghars and Chauhans.²⁴³ Its significance in medieval times is recorded as halting stage.²⁴⁴ However no *sarai* structure could be traced. The eighteenth century *Memorandum* records it as Camal which was eight *coss* from Gharaunda.²⁴⁵ According to Muhammad Kadir Khan's information there were a strong brick bridge and wells in Karnal.²⁴⁶

Khizrabad

Khizrabad is a settlement in the north-eastern territory of Haryana. It finds first mention in the account of Afif²⁴⁷ at the time of the creation of *shiqq* Hissar-i-Firuz. The second mention of it is found in *Ain-i-Akbari* which records it as a *mahal* headquarters in *sarkar* Sirhind of *suba* Delhi.²⁴⁸ It is recorded that Khizrabad had a brick fort and the *zamindars* were mainly Bhattis and Rajputs.²⁴⁹ Khizrabad also finds reference in relation to re-excavation of Firuz Shah's canal by Shiab Khan during the

²⁴⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 292

²⁴¹ *ibid.*

²⁴² *ibid.*

²⁴³ *ibid.*

²⁴⁴ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, William Foster (ed.), p. 158

²⁴⁵ Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route Between Delhi and Cabul', p. 16

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128.

²⁴⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 301

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*

reign of Akbar²⁵⁰ and this canal flowed in the vicinity of Khizrabad. Agriculturally, the territory of Khizrabad remained prosperous. It also emerged as a timber mart.²⁵¹ No reference to non-agrarian activity is available. However, it remained a small urban settlement.

Palwal

Palwal is recorded as a small town along the frequented route which traces its origin since ancient times.²⁵² It is located in the vicinity of Delhi and finds mention in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.²⁵³ The identity of Palwal is further established by two inscriptions — the first one belongs to Qutub-ud-din Aibak's period and the other that of Iltutmish's regime.²⁵⁴ These inscriptions have been found in Jami mosque and Idgah Masjid which informs about the construction dates as 1207 and 1211 AD respectively.²⁵⁵ Palwal enjoyed special attention of Delhi Sultans who appointed confident officers like Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz-Al Muzzi *Hazarmandah* who was *maqti* of Palwal during Iltutmish's reign and under Arqali Dabak Saif-ud-din Shamsi in 1246.

Ain-i-Akbari records it as a *mahal* of *sarkar* Delhi.²⁵⁶ It had a brick

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*, (tr.), I, p. 353

²⁵¹ Munshi Malikzadah, *Nigarnama-i-Munshi*, p. 146 cited in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* Sheet 4B and p. 13

²⁵² Maulvi Muhammad Shua'ib, 'Inscriptions from Palwal', *EIM*, (1907-12), Delhi, 1987, p.1; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XX, p. 655

²⁵³ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (text), I, pp. 234 & 276.

²⁵⁴ Maulvi Muhammad Shua'ib, 'Inscriptions from Palwal', pp. 2-3; Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions : In Panjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, p. 51

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 298

fort²⁵⁷ of which no traces are presently found. This fort was located on a mound.²⁵⁸ The medieval structures at Palwal are Jami mosque²⁵⁹, Idgah Masjid²⁶⁰, tomb of Sayyid Chiragh²⁶¹, tomb of Ghazi Shihab-ud-din²⁶², a martyr in the early battles between Turks and Chauhans, Kachcha Qila which was constructed by Sher Shah Suri,²⁶³ a *sarai* built of bricks during Akbar's or Jahanghir's period and tomb of Sayid Warah.²⁶⁴ Palwal also finds mention in European accounts as well as a halting stage.²⁶⁵

Samalkha

Samalkha does not find mention either in pre-Mughal sources or Mughal sources till seventeenth century but it is located along the frequented Delhi-Lahore route.²⁶⁶ The eighteenth century records inform us about its existence. *Chahar Gulshan* records it as a halting stage after Ganaur.²⁶⁷ It is located at 28°15'N latitude and 77°4'E longitude.²⁶⁸ Muhammad Kadir Khan informs us about it in detail. According to Muhammad Kadir Khan, it was 8 *kos* from Ganaur and had a *sarai* built in

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Maulvi Muhammad Shu'aib, 'Inscriptions from Palwal', p. 1

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*

²⁶¹ *ibid.*

²⁶² *ibid.*

²⁶³ *ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

²⁶⁵ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, William Foster, (ed.), p. 155; Tavernier, *Early Travels In India*, I, p. 77. Also see *Chahar Gulshan in India of Aurangzeb*, by J.N. Sarkar, p. 171

²⁶⁶ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B

²⁶⁷ *Chahar Gulshan in India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Sarkar, p. 172

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*

brick.²⁶⁹ During eighteenth century Samalkha's environs were green and travellers faced dangers from robbers enroute.²⁷⁰

Shahabad

The reason for the emergence of this centre is due to its location along the frequented route i.e., Lahore-Delhi.²⁷¹ *Ain-i-Akbari* records it as a *mahal* headquarters in the north-east of Haryana territory.²⁷² It also finds mention in the account of European travelers — De Laet, William Finch and Tavernier.²⁷³ These accounts establish it as a halting stage. Tavernier supports the existence of *sarai* at Shahabad in seventeenth century.²⁷⁴ However, we do not find traces of *sarai*, the possibility of its ruination lie in lack of care. *Chahar Gulshan* records Shahabad's existence during eighteenth century²⁷⁵ which also finds support from the account of Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan.²⁷⁶ The account of Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan suggests that there was a change in nature of *zamindar* caste from the times of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.²⁷⁷ The Sikh *zamindars* are, however, not accounted during the sixteenth century in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

²⁶⁹ Maulvi Muhammad Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route Between Delhi and Cabul', p. 16

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*

²⁷¹ William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.) William Foster, p. 158

²⁷² *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 301

²⁷³ De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, (tr.), p. 49; William Finch in *Early Travels in India*, (ed.) William Foster, p. 158 and Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, p. 77

²⁷⁴ Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, p. 77

²⁷⁵ *Chahar Gulshan in India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Sarkar, p. 171.

²⁷⁶ Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of the Route Between Delhi and Cabul', p. 17 (Shahabad is recorded as eleventh stage enroute).

²⁷⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 301

Sohana

A small urban settlement in southern Haryana. Sohana, had a fortress and was known for its sulphur springs.²⁷⁸ Number of structures can be traced in the place, such as mosques, tombs and few *sarais*.

Number of settlements also emerged which were the *mahal* headquarters in the sixteenth century. They were mainly the *qasba* settlements. To name a few of them are Barwala, Mahim, Rohtak, Safedon, Jind, Dhatart, Tosham, Agroha, Atkhera, etc. As these do not find any special reference, hence details are avoided and brief description is provided.

Barwala

According to pre-Mughal sources, Barwala was a small *qasba*. It finds mention in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.²⁷⁹ The inscriptions found at Barwala inform us of officers in pre-Mughal times. One of the significant officer related to it was Malika Nusarat al-din Tayasi²⁸⁰ and Malik Taj-al-din Mahmud bin Khalji Arsalan.²⁸¹ Balban frequently visited this place for the recruitment of

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, (tr.), II, pp. 285 and 298; *Khulasat-ut-Twarikhin India of Aurangzeb* by J.N.sarkar, p. 187

²⁷⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.) II, pp. 732 and 837.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*

²⁸¹ Two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Sultan Kaiqubad have been found at Barwala. One of them records the construction of a mosque by Taj-al-din Mahmud bin Khalji Arsalan, whose title indicates that he was an officer, probably the local governor. The date of construction of mosque is 25th March, 1289. C.J. Rodgers, *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Panjab*, Lahore, 1891, p. 70.

troops which is evident from the existence of an inscription²⁸² found at Lahore Museum which dates back to 2nd January, 1282. This inscription is in Arabic and reads as:

The light of Islam and Muslims Abul Muzaffar (Balban, the king; the helper of the Lord of the Muslims – may God perpetuate his kingdom... May his prosperity be perpetual ... A.H.680.

Similarly a mosque was built by Sultan Kaiqubad and the testimony to it can be found from the following inscriptions.

This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mirzuddunya Waddin - May God perpetuate his reign ! - Abul Muzaffar Kaikubad, the king by the glory of saints and the poor...25th March, 1289. ²⁸³

Ain-i-Akbari ²⁸⁴ records it as a *mahal* with *arazi* 136, 799 *bighas*.

Rohtak

Rohtak traces its origin in ancient times.²⁸⁵ It lies between 28°91' and 29°18'N latitude and 76°13' and 77°13'E longitude on the Hansi-Delhi road.²⁸⁶ The other *qasba* settlements in its surroundings are Kaithal, Jhajjar, Mahim, Mandhauti, Gohana, etc. The probability of their being used as a check post in the region can not be ruled out. Rohtak emerged as an *iqta* headquarters out of the military post and extracted revenue. It is recorded as

²⁸² S. Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions: In The Panjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, p. 16.

²⁸³ *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

²⁸⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 299.

²⁸⁵ *IGI*, XXI, Oxford, 1908, p. 321. (It is identified with Rauhitaka/Rauhita of *Rajatarangi* by Kalhana). Also see *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 1.

²⁸⁶ A. Cunningham, 'Towns in North and South Bihar in 1880-81', *ASIR*, p. 139.

a fortified settlement.²⁸⁷ The other fortified settlement in its vicinity was Mahim which finds mention in *Ain-i-Akbari* ²⁸⁸ as a production centre of jaggery.²⁸⁹ Mahim could create market for itself in Delhi. Jind, Dhatart, Safedon, Tohna, Ahroni, etc. were mere villages and they sprang to *qasba* settlements after the excavation of canals due to agricultural prosperity. Some scattered references are available regarding these settlements as well. Jind, Safedon, Dhatart are recorded as *qasba* by Afif in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*.²⁹⁰ Similarly, Ahroni and Tohana finds mention in *Zafarnama* and *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri* as small settlements.²⁹¹ These were plundered of their grain wealth by Timur's army.²⁹² Gohana is recorded as a small settlement in the vicinity of Rohtak.²⁹³

Kanauda/Mohindergarh

A settlement in *sarkar* Narnaul is recorded as *mahal* headquarters in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.²⁹⁴ It is located at 28°06'N latitude and 76°08'E longitude. ²⁹⁵ It was founded by Malik Mahmud Khan, who was in the service of Babur during sixteenth century.²⁹⁶ Kanauda had a fort too. Kanauda remained a

²⁸⁷ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (tr.), K.K. Basu, pp. 178-81.

²⁸⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 291-92 and 299-300.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 527.

²⁹⁰ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 126 and (tr.) in *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 74.

²⁹¹ *Zafarnama* (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, p. 492; *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri*, (tr.) in Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, p. 428.

²⁹² *ibid.*

²⁹³ *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, (ed.) and (tr.) by Azra Alvi, Delhi, 1996, pp. 114-151 and also see Elliot and Downson, *History of India...*, III, p. 381.

²⁹⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 205

²⁹⁵ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4A

²⁹⁶ *Panjab State Gazatteers - Phulkian States*, Lahore, 1904, p. 53

medium size settlement during the medieval times. However, it emerged as a stronghold of the Marathas in the eighteenth century.²⁹⁷

Kotla

An urban settlement in southern Haryana of the pre-Mughal times is recorded as the capital of Khanzada Chief Bahadur Khan Nahir.²⁹⁸ Kotla had a fort on the hill which is significant from strategic point of view. During contemporary times, it was visited by Babur who called the lake along the fort as the tank of Kotila.²⁹⁹ The description of this tank is as follows —

... one of its banks is formed by the side of a hill, and the river Manisi flows into it. It very large tank, but does not look well from either of its sides. In the midst of the tank is a rising ground; around it are a number of small boats. The inhabitants of the towns on the banks of the tank, when any alarm or confusion occurs, embark in their boats, and make their escape. When I arrived there a number of people got into their boats and rowed into the middle of the lake'.³⁰⁰

Kotla consists of structures of contemporary times. Among these are the Jami Masjid and tomb of Bahadur Khan Nahir.³⁰¹ It is recorded as *mahal* headquarters in *sarkar* of Delhi *suba*.³⁰² During contemporary times it remained a stronghold of Meos and Khanzada Chiefs.³⁰³

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Baburnama*, (tr.), p.578 and also see A. Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in Panjab and Rajasthan', *ASIR*, p. 129

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰⁰ A. Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour of Panjab and Rajasthan', *ASIR*, pp. 129-30

³⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 130

³⁰² *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 204

³⁰³ A. Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour or Panjab and Rajasthan', *ASIR*, XX, pp. 129-33

Pinjaur

Pinjaur traces its origin in antiquity like any other settlement of Haryana. It is located at 76°56'E longitude and 30°45'N latitude near the confluence of Jhajra and Koshala streams which once upon were the tributaries of Ghaggar river.³⁰⁴ The ancient name of Pinjaur is recorded as Panchapura.³⁰⁵ During Al-Beruni's time the route from Kannauj to Kashmir passed along Pinjaur.³⁰⁶ Excavations carried out by Archaeological Survey of India indicate that Pinjaur remained a settlement, dominated by Hindu and Jain temples.³⁰⁷

Due to Bhima Devi temple³⁰⁸ and its favourable picturesque location, it attracted pilgrims, invaders and imperial personalities from time to time. For fifteenth and sixteenth century we do not record any noticeable information related to it. It was transferred to Delhi *suba* in early eighteenth century.³⁰⁹ In the seventeenth century, it was sacked and captured by Fidai Khan Koka (1681) from the Raja of Sirmur.³¹⁰ He was a man of great skills

³⁰⁴ Elphinstone and Todd in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1837, p. 181 and D.C Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1960, pp. 41-42.

³⁰⁵ A. Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in the Panjab in 1878-79', *ASIR*, XIV, pp. 71-72

³⁰⁶ *Al-Beruni's India*, (ed.) and (tr.), E. Sachau, I, p. 205 also see *India by al-Beruni* (ed.) by Qeyamuddin Ahmad, p. 99. (Marching from Kanoj towards the north-north west, you come to Shirsharaha, 50 *farsakh* from Kanoj; Panjab, 18 *farsakh* situated on the mountains whilst opposite it in the plain there lies the city of Thanesar...).

³⁰⁷ A. Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in the Panjab in 1878-79', *ASIR*, XIV, pp. 71-72

³⁰⁸ Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh* in *India of Aurangzeb*, p. XXXVII.

³⁰⁹ *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4A and 4B

³¹⁰ Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, (tr.) in *India of Aurangzeb* by J.N. Srkar, p. XXXVII. Also see C.M. Villers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, Allahabad, 1979, (reprint,) pp. 202-03

and architectural taste.³¹¹ He built and laid beautiful terraced gardens on the patterns of Shalimarbagh of Kashmir and gardens at Lahore. Aurangzeb recognizing his abilities made him incharge of this region. Fidai Khan in order to keep the garden lush green got digged a canal from a neighbouring hill for watering of beautiful grasslands and enchanting flower beds.³¹² According to Sujan Rai, the author of *Khulasat-ut-Twairikh*, Pinjaur remained famous in growing red roses.³¹³ Fidai Khan also established a perfumery which extracted rose water.³¹⁴ In this garden complex there is a rest-house as well which, however, does not find separate mention in Sujan Rai's account. However, it can be assumed that it was simultaneously constructed at the time of laying of the gardens.

A few words about the gardens are worth mentioning which were laid down on central Asian traditions. According to Stuart,³¹⁵ 'Pinjor, the great Garden made by Fidai Khan at the holy spring of Panchapura, still serves its purpose, practically unchanged, since Fidei first built this Indian country house and its garden'.³¹⁶ This garden has its main gate towards east which leads to rectangular platform. From this platform starts the first terrace which has spring. This spring rises through a stone vase and supplies water to the canal. The stream of water is covered with a *bardari*, with a carved roof and small side domes. The second terrace starts with the doors of

³¹¹ *ibid.*

³¹² *ibid.*

³¹³ *ibid.*, Also see *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4B and p. 13

³¹⁴ *ibid.*

³¹⁵ C.M. Vilers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 202

³¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 199.

bardari which was perhaps the *purdah* garden for the ladies. This terrace has an excellent Raj Mahal on the western side. The third terrace is the lower garden and has two gateways in the side walls. The fourth terrace has a large water tank and on its southern bank is water palace. In this way the overall look of Pinjaur gardens is excellent and it would have been marvelous place for resting in contemporary times. We are not sure about the structural changes which took place between the time of the laying of the garden and Stuart's visit.

Though our information has been very limited, it has been possible to trace a clear hierarchy in the towns. Thus, towns with active role in the administration of the territory both from defence point of view and the point of view of extraction of revenue made them vitally important for Delhi centre rulers. Though some centres which could not match with other centres outside the region in craft and other productivity, yet they acted as a cork in the wheel by providing halting places and provisions to frequent carvans going towards and coming from regions on the north west of the sub continent. Several of these towns also attracted sufi saints and their teachings had wider acceptance when we find the rulers of Delhi making repeated visits to their centres.

The towns of Haryana may not appear as vibrant as Delhi, Agra, Ahamadabad, Surat and so on but they were sensitive to the changes and developments in their small way.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE REGION

In this chapter, an attempt is being made to sketch the social composition on the basis of evidences available in Persian chronicles, travelers' account, local sources along with *Settlement Reports*, *Gazetteers* and earliest *Census Reports*. W. H. Moreland¹ was the first to suggest the population estimates for the Akbar's empire. Kingsley Davis², Ashok V. Desai,³ Irfan Habib⁴ and Shireen Moosvi⁵ made certain modifications to the Moreland's estimate by adopting different methods. The basis for their estimates remained either the figures provided in the "Account of Twelve Provinces" in the *Ain-i-Akbari*⁶ or the demographic data available in the *Settlement Reports* and *Census Reports*. By and large the estimates computed by them relate to c. 1600. For years earlier to c. 1600, we lack even indirect references in order to attempt any guesstimate.

Though Moreland, Irfan Habib and Shireen Moosvi's estimates differ in size of population for c.1600, their primary base is assumption which is the measured area of the *Ain* that represented the size of cultivated area. Since

¹ W. H. Moreland, *India At The Death of Akbar*, pp. 9-22.

² Kingsley Davis, *Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton, 1951. p. 24.

³ Ashok V. Desai, 'Population and Standard of living in Akbar's Time', *IESHR*, IX, no. 1, 1992, pp. 43-62.

⁴ Irfan Habib, 'Population', in Tapan Ray Chaudhari and Irfan Habib (eds.), *CEHI*, I, pp. 163-71.

⁵ Shireen, Moosvi, 'Production, Consumption and Population in Akbar's Time', *PIHC*, 33rd session, 1972, pp. 260-69.

⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 219-417.

we have shown our reservation on this and have said that roughly about fifty percent of the *Ain*'s measured area was under cultivation⁷ the estimates of the above scholars appear to be highly inflated. Haryana being a small region contained comparatively small ratio of persons to that of Akbar's empire population. No attempt is however made here in this regard due to paucity of complete data.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions only the caste names of *zamindar* class, which can not be taken to demarcate the caste groups of the region. We have therefore found it much easier to find the size of rural population by putting them under two categories — traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes, (see Appendix V-A). Under the traditional castes following groups have been included: Gujar, Jat, Ahir, Thathar, Meo, Gond, Dhuna, Dadbhalsa and under the non-traditional cultivating castes are Rajput, Afghan, Ranghar, Taga, Musalman (Khaildar), Sayyid, Malikzadah, Bakkal, Lohani, Multani, Khanzada, KyamKhani, Brahman etc.

Many of these traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes do find mention in pre *Ain-i-Akbari* sources. However, these do not record them as *zamindar* class as in case of *Ain-i-Akbari*. Their mention in *Ain* indicates them as the residents of Haryana territory and also their status in the caste hierarchy.

⁷ W. H. Moreland, *India At The Death of Akbar*, pp. 20-21.

The presence of two occupational classes is further confirmed in the *Memorandum* of late eighteenth century⁸ and *Settlement Reports* of various districts during nineteenth century. If the accounts of pre-Mughal sources, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Memorandum* and account of Denzil Ibbeston (for 1881)⁹ are taken together and a comparison is drawn, then we can have some idea of caste structure of the Haryana region. This comparison reveals the changes which occurred during the study period among the *zamindar* classes. The *Memorandum* and the account of Denzil Ibbeston in particular reveal the addition to the *zamindar* class throughout the study period. The *Memorandum* has limitations, as it deals only with the eastern territory of Haryana region along the Delhi-Kabul route and shows the existence of Sikh *zamindars* in the surroundings of Shahabad and Kurukshetra/Thanesar. It is account of Denzil Ibbeston, which clearly establishes the location of *zamindar* class in various pockets of the Haryana region.

Based on appendix V-A traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes seem to be the permanent population in urban settlements as well as rural settlements. However, the percentage in rural settlements was larger. The proprietors of large land holdings possibly stayed in fortified structures. These *zamindar* castes were accompanied by other castes, which fall in lower

⁸ Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of Route between Delhi and Cabul', pp. 15-18.

⁹ See Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, (whole book)

hierarchy and do not find mention in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, but sometimes reference to them is made in other contemporary sources.

The percentage of the superior rights holders worked out on the basis of the *Ain-i-Akbari* does not necessarily mean that the mentioned castes had enjoyed proprietary rights over land in the same percentage. Many of the proprietary right holders simply paid their revenue to the *zamindars* of their localities. They were thus lower in social and economic hierarchy. Such persons are referred in sources as the *khud kasht* and the *pahi kasht*. The scholars¹⁰ have offered explanations to these and suggests the existence of lesser traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes. A *khud kasht*, was the cultivator who had his own land either under a *zamindar* or in independent capacity. He enjoyed the proprietary rights and helped the state in the collection of revenue. It is defined in Khwaja Yassin's *Glossary* as 'one who having paid himself the money 'zar' for the (purchase) of oxen etc., gets the cultivation done by the peasants...(riyaya)... that is one who has a house in the land of his *zamindari* and who engages in cultivation there, is called

¹⁰ Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 2nd edn., pp. 123-68, Nurul Hasan, 'Medieval Punjab' in *Panjab, Past and Present : Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, (ed.) Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Berrier, Patiala, 1974, pp. 73-80, Satish Chandra, 'The Structure of Village Society in Northern India : The *khud kasht* and the *pahi kasht*' in *Medieval India : Society, the Jagirdari Crisis and the Village*, Delhi, 1982. pp. 29-45, K. K. Trivedi, *Agra : Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 93-94.

khud kasht'.¹¹ These *khud kasht* cultivators acted as intermediaries. Their position depended upon their land holdings. The next in hierarchy were the *pahi kasht*. The *pahi kasht* was a resident in one village but cultivated another person's land located in the different *zamindari* jurisdiction.¹² Though our sources are silent for these two categories for the Haryana region however, the possibility of existence of these categories can not be ruled out. The *pahi kasht* probably cultivated for the non-traditional cultivating *zamindars*.¹³ Besides the *pahi kasht*, there was other category of cultivator, who cultivated the land in the same village, but did not have land of their own. These landless cultivators belonged to the lowest stratum of the village society.

During medieval times liberal grants were given to religious persons, men of knowledge and learning, persons of noble lineage, destitutes etc. These grants were known as *wazifa* or *madad-i-maash*. These were both in cash and grants. *Ain* gives us the account of the *suyurghal* grants. Appendix

¹¹ Khwaja Yassin's, *Glossary of Revenue and Administrative Terms* Purnea Ms. ff. 72b, 53b also see (tr.) in S. Hasan Mahmood, *An Eighteenth Century Agrarian Manual, Yassin's Dastur-i-malguzari, Persian text and Eng. tr. with an Introduction*, New Delhi, 2000, term no. 209 (forthcoming); Satish Chandra, 'The Structure of Village Society, in Northern India : the *khud kasht* and the *pahi kasht*; p. 32.

¹² *ibid.*, f. 53a and Purnea Ms. f. 52a; (tr.) in S. Hasan Mahmood, *An Eighteenth Century Agrarian Manual, Yassin's Dastur-i-malguzari*, term no. 382; Satish Chandra, 'The Structure of Village Society in Northern India : the *khud kasht* and the *pahi kasht*, pp. 36-37.

¹³ For the details on *pahi's* how and why they cultivated others land see Satish Chandra, 'The Structure of Village Society in Northern India : the *khud kasht* and the *pahi kasht* pp.37-39.

V- B gives account of percentage of the *suyurghal* grants of various *parganas* of the *sarkars* of the Haryana territory in c. 1595. Accordingly 6.58 percentage of *jama* of Haryana territory constituted the *suyurghal* grants. The maximum grants were made in *sarkar* Delhi, i.e., 11.28%, followed by *sarkar* Sirhind, i.e. 9.49%, *sarkar* Sahar, i.e. 4.41%, *sarkar* Tijara, i.e. 4.44%; *sarkar* Narnaul, i.e. 3.12%; *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza, i.e. 2.78%; *sarkar* Rewari, i.e. 2.34%; and *sarkar* Alwar i.e. 1.88%.

Such grants were common during pre-Mughal times as well. We have one instance in case of *pargana* Thanesar of *sarkar* Sirhind during the reign of Tughlaqs'.¹⁴ References about specific grants are also available. Thus during Akbar's regime, 100 *bighas* of cultivable land was granted as *madad-i-maash* to *mujawirs* of the shrine Makhdum Mujdud Din Haji,¹⁵ thirty *bighas* were granted to one Adar Banu for her maintenance during the reign of Jahangir¹⁶ in *pargana* Panipat of *sarkar* Delhi through a *firman*. This was reconfirmed by another *firman* in 1623.¹⁷ The other *firman* dated 1622-23 confirmed the grant of 130 *bighas* to one Amina in *pargana* Panipat.¹⁸ Amina is recorded as the daughter of Shaykh Abdur Rahim.¹⁹ The *firman* of

¹⁴ *Insha-i-Mahru*, (ed.), A. Rashid, Lahore, 1965, letter no. 28, pp. 61-63.

¹⁵ S. A. I. Tirmizi, (ed.), *Mughal Documents, 1526-1627*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 56 & 58. Also see Shaikh Abdul Haq, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Delhi, p. 49 and Maulana Ghausi, *Azkar-i-Abrar*, Agra, p. 44; *IHRC*, XXXV, pt. II, PP. 59-60.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 100 Also *IHRC*, XIII, p. 162; the date of *firman* is 13th August, 1616.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 124; also see *Faramian-i-Salatin*, pp. 48-50.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 123.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

Jahanghir²⁰ of 1623 in case of Banu ordered the officials to measure and consolidate the land and deliver its possession to the grantees.²¹ In this *firman*, the state officials were instructed not to impose taxes like *peshkash*, *jaribana*, *muhasilana*, *zakitana*, *mihrana*, *daroghana*, *begar*, *shikar*, *dehnimi*, *muquddami*, *sad-doi*, *qanungoi* etc. For this it is not clear, whether such exemptions covered the entire grant or were applicable to the part of land, which was given out of the uncultivated part. In all likelihood, exemptions covered the uncultivated part of the land in the grant, while the cultivators continued to pay the above charges to respective officials along with state demand to the grantees. The cases of *pargana* Thanesar and Panipat too suggests that such grants were made to religious persons or their descendants or some times to destitutes.²²

The *suyurghal* amount should be much higher than mentioned earlier.²³ Apparently, the figures in appendix V- B are against the estimated *jama* and do not include part of the grants on uncultivable waste which was kept at fifty percent.²⁴ This would double the amount of *suyurghal* available to us for various *parganas* of Haryana territory as 30,315,324 *dams*.

Section of people identified with Mewat region are called as Mewatis who occupied prominent position in the sources. Both Minhaj and Barani

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 124.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*, pp.123-24. .

²³ For explanation see K. K. Trivedi, *Agra ; Economic and Political Profile*, p. 97.

²⁴ *ibid.*

records them near Delhi in south Haryana.²⁵ Though they are not recorded as cultivating castes, rather as recalcitrants. However the possibility of their being cultivators and permanent settlers can not be ruled out. The second reference is made towards Jats and Gujars who migrated from the adjoining provinces of Sind, Panjab and the Rajputana to the present territory of Haryana.²⁶ The Ahirs which were located pre-dominantly in *sarkar* Rewari, trace their origin from Yaduvanshis and got settled as cultivators in the Haryana territory before the advent of Turks.²⁷ The various Rajput clans similarly establish their claim in the region.²⁸ The region traces the existence of Khanzadas, Sayyids, Pirzadas, Shaikhzadas, KyamKhanis etc.

Jats seem to be most dominant traditional cultivating caste. Like the Rajputs, they are also divided into various clans and trace their origin either based on traditions or place names. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives names of a few.²⁹ Jats were mainly located in proper Haryana tract. However few could be found both in Bhattiana and Mewat tracts as well.

²⁵ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.), pp. 850-51; Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 55-56 and (tr.) in *Tuglaq Kalin Bharat*, II, pp. 163-64.

²⁶ For the pattern of Jat migration see Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Panjab and Sind' in *Panjab, Past and Present : Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, pp. 92-103; Iftikar Ahmad Khan, *Panjab in the Sixteenth Century*, unpublished, M. Phil Dissertation, AMU, Aligarh, 1982, Chapter III, pp. 24-37 and Map; Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 97-131.

²⁷ Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 202-03.

²⁸ Muhammad Abdul Ghani Khan, *Karnarna-i-Rajputan* (Urdu text), (ed.) Khaksar Karam Ali, Bareilly, pp. 40-41, Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 131-46.

²⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 453-55, 518-20 and 525-27; (tr.), II, pp. 203-06, 251-93 and 258-301.

The first historical account of Jats is traceable in the description of Hieun Tsang in Sind during seventh century A.D.³⁰ For him, these people were engaged in tending cattle.³¹ The description reveals that they were the pastoral communities. The Jats are further identified in *Chachnama* during eighth century AD³² They were found as soldiers and boatman.³³ The time of migration of Jats towards Punjab and Haryana from Sind is not available in any source. However, Al-Beruni identifies them as cattle owners in the Lahore area during eleventh century.³⁴ The Sultanate sources are silent on the existence of Jats either in Punjab or Haryana territory. It is *Baburnama*³⁵ which traces their existence along with Jud and Janjuha tribes, Gujars and others in the surroundings of Nilab and Bihra mountains during 1519. Babur further records them in 1525 along with Gujars in the vicinity of Sialkot.³⁶ He records this in the following words : '...if one go into Hindostan, the Jats and Gujars always pour down in countless hoards from hill and plains for loot in bullock and buffalo... and stripped them bare'.³⁷ This information is confirmed in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* as well.³⁸ Badaoni records their presence in

³⁰ S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 252. as cited in Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Panjab and Sind', p.94.

³¹ *ibid.*

³² *Chachnama* (ed.), Daudpota, pp. 47 and 214-15 as cited in Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Panjab and Sind', pp. 94 & 102.

³³ *ibid.*, pp. 121 and 139 as cited in Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Panjab and Sind', pp. 95 & 102.

³⁴ *Al-Beruni's India*, (ed.) and (tr.), E. Sachau, I, 401.

³⁵ *Baburnama*. (tr.), p. 387.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 454.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. (tr.), II, pp. 265-66.

1573-74 in the vicinity of Shergarh close to Dipalpur.³⁹ They are also referred by Siddi Ali Reis, a Turkish traveler of the sixteenth century in Multan.⁴⁰ It is *Ain-i-Akbari*, which finally records them in the Haryana territory of south Punjab and cis-Sutlej areas of *sarkar* Sirhind and *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza.⁴¹

The transformations, which took place during the gap of five hundred years reveal that the Jats initially were of pastoral community who changed into agriculturists par excellence. They are traced in the following *parganas* in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.⁴²

- *Sarkar* Delhi : Jhajjar, Rohtak, Sonapat, Safedon, Kharkaunda, Mandhauti.
- *Sarkar* Rewari : Bawal, Pataudi, Rewari
- *Sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza : Agroha, Ahroni, Atkhera, Bhangiwal, Baharangi, Barwa, Tosham, Jind, Jamalpur, Hissar, Dhatart, Seoron, Sewani, Fatahabad, Gohana, Khanda, Hansi.
- *Sarkar* Sirhind : Thanesar, Khizrabad, Guhram, Doral.
- *Sarkar* Narnaul : Chal Kalinah, Kanodah, Khodan
- *Sarkar* Sahar : Bandhauli, Nunhera, Hodal

³⁹ Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, (tr.), III, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁰ Siddi Ali Reis, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Reis in India, Afganistan, Central Asia and Persia During the Years 1553-56*, (tr.) A. Vembery, London, 1899, pp. 44-45.

⁴¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 526-27 and (tr.) II, pp. 298-300.

⁴² *ibid.*, I, pp. 453, 518-20, 526-27 and (tr.) II, pp. 203-06, 291-93 and 298-301. (The amount of revenue supports this argument for various *parganas*)

Being the cultivators they are identified as lower caste *vaishya* in the caste hierarchy by the author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*.⁴³ The late nineteenth century source *Karnama-i-Rajputan* throws light on their history and spread.⁴⁴ It also puts forth their origin from Yadavs or Rajputs.⁴⁵ However, nothing with certainty can be stated as this is based on traditions. It traces their historical past since pre-Turkish period to post-Aurangzeb period.⁴⁶ During post-Aurangzeb period, the Jats laid foundation of independent principalities at Patiala, Kapurthala, Bhartpur, Dholpur etc.⁴⁷

Denial Ibbeston has put an opinion regarding the increase in number of Jats for the following reason : 'a continuous influx into the ranks of Jats, as men of other castes took to agriculture, and in course of time designated themselves as Jats by virtue of their profession'.⁴⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari* records various clans as Halu, Sangwan, Seron, Punya, Jat, etc. It is difficult to provide their hierarchy.

Jats remained pre-dominantly engaged in agrarian activity, but the possibility of their stay in *qasbas* and *pargana* headquarters can not be ruled out. It is mere speculation that the lesser peasants in the lean season might have moved in search of employment to the *pargana* headquarters or *sarkar*

⁴³ *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, (ed.) Nazar Ashraf, Calcutta, 1809, pp. 276 & 286 as cited in Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Panjab and Sind', pp. 97 & 102.

⁴⁴ Muhammad Abdul Ghani Khan, *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, p. 40.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ *ibid.*; also see Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 97-131.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁸ Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 105-06.

headquarters, and joined the imperial forces. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives the list of retainers both infantry and cavalry under the Jat *zamindars*. If we consider retainers in the Jat *zamindar* area, the figures are as follows : 560 for cavalry and 19,400 for infantry (based on appendix V- C).

The Rajputs were the non-traditional cultivating castes in many *parganas* of Haryana region.⁴⁹ Various clans have been recorded in *Ain-i-Akbari* (see appendix V- A). The other clans which are not referred in particular are identified as Rajputs in general.

Chauhans find mention since the pre-Turkish period.⁵⁰ Their presence was felt in the battle of Tarain during 1191 and 1192 AD.⁵¹ Later Aibak and Iltutmish and other Sultans faced Chauhan resistance at places like Hansi, Sirsa etc.⁵² Denzil Ibbeston identifies them as one of the Agnikula tribes.⁵³ They are one among the thirty six royal families. Their seat was originally located at Ajmer and Sambhar in Rajputana.⁵⁴

Tonwars were from the thirty six royal clans.⁵⁵ The location of Tonwars in *Ain-i-Akbari* and Denzil Ibbeston are identical for Haryana region. The

⁴⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 453-55, 518-20 and 525-27, (tr.) II pp. 203-06, 291-93 and 298-301.

⁵⁰ D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Hansi Stone Inscription of Prithviraj, V. S. 1224' is Some Unpublished Inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, Feb, 1912, pp. 17-19.

⁵¹ *Futuh-us-Salatin*, (tr.) I, pp. 141-42.

⁵² *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.) I, pp. 468-69 & 491.

⁵³ Denzil Ibbeston. *Panjab Castes*, p. 135.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

Jatus of Haryana also belong to Tonwar clan.⁵⁶ Similarly, Rathor Rajputs too belong to the thirty six royal clans.⁵⁷ The seat of power was originally located at Kannauj. It is not clear at what point of time they migrated to various pockets of Haryana. Their probability of being in the services of Mughal state and imperial forces exist.

The Joiyas were originally located in Bikaner *pargana* of Rajasthan provinces.⁵⁸ They migrated towards western extremities of Haryana region and are identified as settled in *pargana* Sirsa.⁵⁹ They remained in conflict with the local people. One of the *nishan* is of prince Khurram confirms their presence in Sirsa, dated March, 1614 A. D. This *nishan* reads as :

...addressed to Rai Suraj Singh, states, that there was dispute regarding the boundary line of the *parganas* of Sirsa and Bhatner (Bhatnair) some time back. The dispute has now been settled, 'since the son of Rai Barat Chand, accompanied by Sundar Das, the tax collector of Sirsa and demarcated the boundary line in the presence of people there. The son of Rai Barat Chand has recovered the revenue of the land situated in *pargana* Sirsa from Bhara Jaya (Joya) and Bhadhur Jaya (Joya) who had seized the said land. The revenue thus realised has been handed over to Sundar Das, *karori* of Sirsa. As the said *pargana* has been conferred upon him (addresses) in *jagir*, it is his duty to collect the revenue of the land from the persons referred to above and deposit it with Nawroj Beg, the *karori* of

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 113 & 146. (They are identified as Rajputs and are recorded as one of the 36 royal races among Rajputs. They are found in Haryana, Bhatnair, Bhattiana, and Nagor. Their ancient seat is in Bikaner, on the bed of old Ghaggar just below Bhatnair. The Joiyas of Sirsa in Hissar District traces their origin from Bhatnair)

⁵⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 526-27 and (tr.) II, p. 299.

Sirsa. Now all the government dues are to be received from them. It bears the seal of Prince Khurram.⁶⁰

Their presence is further confirmed through *firman* of emperor Jahangir dated 28th June, 1623.⁶¹ This *firman* is regarding the settlement of dispute between Khandot and Joyas of *pargana* Bhatnair and local people of Sirsa. The *firman* reads as :

...addressed to Raja Sur (Singh), states that Behzad and Ala-ud-din, while coming from Sirsa, lodged complaint in the court to the effect that Askaran, Kesho Das and others of the Khandot and Joya clans of the *pargana* Bhatner (Bhatnair), had raided and looted their villages and murdered Rai Jallu and others. Orders him (addresses) to punish the miscreants and recover the looted property from them and return it to the owners.

Ranghar /Rangar Rajputs are recorded as the muslim Rajputs,⁶² who were settled in the entire 'Haryana proper tract'.⁶³ Bhattis traces their origin from Bhatnair and were next to Hindu Rajputs.⁶⁴ The region inhabited by them is now popularly identified as 'Bhattiana tract'. However, in c. 1595, they were located in Dorala *pargana* of *sarkar* Sirhind.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Descriptive list of Firmans, Mansurs and Nishans* p. 25 in S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents*, 1526-1627, pp. 90-91.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 51 and S. A. I. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents* 1526-1627, pp. 123-24.

⁶² Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, p. 137.

⁶³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 453-55, 518-20 and 525-27, (tr.) II, pp. 203-06, 251-93 and 298-301.

⁶⁴ Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 144-46.

⁶⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 527 and (tr.) II, p. 301.

Besides these Rajput clans of *Ain-i-Akbari*, mention of Mandhar Rajputs is found in *Baburnama*.⁶⁶ Babur while returning from Lahore received complaint from the *qazi* of Samana against Mohan Mandhar (Mundahir) Rajput, who had attacked the village of the *qazi* and killed his son. Mohan Mandhar is identified to be located in *pargana* Kaithal. Babur sent expeditions against him. According to Denzil Ibbeston, during nineteenth century the Mandhars were dominant in the region of *pargana* Jind and Asandh of the 'proper Haryana tract'.⁶⁷ Probably the Mandhars of *pargana* Kaithal spread in other parts of Haryana proper tract during the succeeding years.

Among the muslim non-traditional cultivating castes were Afghans., Sayyids, Malikzadas, Khanzadas, Meos, KyamKhanis etc. The survey of *suba* Delhi and Agra comprising Haryana territory reveals :

- i) Afghans were located in *pargana* Sonapat and Panipat of *sarkar* Delhi; *pargana* Chahta of *sarkar* Sirhind and Narhar of *sarkar* Narnaul.
- ii) Sayyids were located in *pargana* Barwala of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza.
- iii) Malikzadas in *pargana* Barwala of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza.

⁶⁶ *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 700-701.

⁶⁷ Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, p. 135.

- iv) Khanzadas in *parganas* of *sarkar* Tijara and in *parganas* Indri Ujinah, Bisru, Kotla, Jabalpur and Ismailpur of *sarkar* Alwar.
- v) Meos were located in *parganas* of Bisru, Tijara, Khanpur, Firuzpur, Ghasera, Nagina of *sarkar* Tijara; Koh Mujahid and Kamah of *sarkar* Sahar and Harsauli and Jalalpur of *sarkar* Alwar.
- vi) KyamKhanis in *pargana* Narhar of *sarkar* Narnaul.
- vii) Beside these, mention to Khaildar who were muslims⁶⁸ in *pargana* Taoru of *sarkar* Rewari is available. However, their identity is not otherwise established.
- viii) Reference to Pirzadas is also found in the *sanad* of Akbar.⁶⁹ They do not find reference as *zamindar* caste in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. In contemporary times, they were lesser cultivators, who were located in *pargana* Dhatart of *sarkar* Hisssar-i-Firuza.

The Afghans, Sayyids, Malikzadas etc. were muslims by origin and settled in the Haryana territory since the eleventh century. While the

⁶⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 525 and (tr.), II p. 298.

⁶⁹ Lieut. Yule, 'A Canal Act of the Emperor Akbar, with some notes and remarks on the History of the Western Jamuna Canals', *JASB*, XV, 1846, p. 213, (It is however not clear from the *sanad* that Pirzadas were the cultivators of which category during the contemporary times. But the possession of *sanad* with Abdul Samad and Abdul Mustakim Pirzadah suggests them belonging to the muslim non-traditional cultivating caste.)

Khanzadas, Meos and KyamKhanis were the converts from the Rajputs and otherwise. We will trace their identity based on contemporary sources and sources of the nineteenth century.

The Meos emerge as third largest revenue payer in the region, c.1600. Main *parganas* were in *sarkar* Tijara, Sahar and Alwar of south Haryana. According to traditions,⁷⁰ they originated from Raja Basu and mermaid but the later sources establish them part of Mina tribe,⁷¹ or the offsprings of Mina and Rajputs.⁷² However, they are first traced in the account of Minhaj-us Siraj⁷³ and later by Barani.⁷⁴ The Meos remained troublesome for Delhi Sultans during thirteenth century and afterwards. Balban took numerous expeditions against them in Delhi surroundings. They were converted to Islam by one Shahid Salar of Baharaich.⁷⁵ They organised themselves as Meo Chattri.⁷⁶ According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Meo Chattri*, they were converted to Islam during the reign of Tughlaq Sultan. However the

⁷⁰ James Skinner, *Tashrih-al-Aqwam*, Br. Add. 27, 255, I, ff. 71-75 (photocopy in the Dept. of History, AMU, Aligarh); also see K. K. Trivedi, *Agra : Economic and Political Profile.*, pp. 115 & 128.

⁷¹ James Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, p. 1332; William Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, III, p. 425.

⁷² *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, (Urdu text), p. 345.

⁷³ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.), pp. 850-51.

⁷⁴ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 55-56.

⁷⁵ Alexendar Cunningham, *ASIR*, XX, pp. 22-23.

⁷⁶ Hakim Abdul Shakur, *Tarikh-i-Meo Chhatri*, Gurgaon, 1974, p. 113.

contemporary sources refer to them as Mewatis.⁷⁷ Abul Fazl records them as Mewrah, the natives of Mewat.⁷⁸ During sixteenth century, they remained famous as runners and were employed by Akbar as dak-Mewrah's.⁷⁹ Their number is given as one thousand.⁸⁰

We do not find the name of the leaders of the Meos in contemporary sources, but their reference together with Khanzadas suggests that Khanzadas probably were their leaders.⁸¹ According to Meo traditions one Todar Mal, who lived at Ajangarh in Alwar was their leader. He came in conflict with Akbar. Akbar sent expeditions against him under Bada Rao Mina for the collection of revenue.⁸² However, Todar Mal settled the dispute for the half of the amount of revenue.⁸³ Todar Mal's son Darya Khan⁸⁴, according to same tradition, joined the Mughal service. However this is not

⁷⁷ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (tr.) K.K. Basu, pp. 209-11. (It does not confirm them as Meos in particular. The other inhabitants of Mewat are also identified as Mewatis. *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, p. 345 describes them along with Khanzadas. The Meo remained in close association with Khanzadas). Also see Alexendar Cunningham, *ASIR*, XX, pp. III-IV.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*; Alexendar Cunningham, *ASIR*, XX, p. 22.

⁷⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.) I, P. 262, Also see Alexendar Cunningham, *ASIR*, XX, p. 22.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, (Urdu text), p. 345.

⁸² Alexendar Cunningham, *ASIR*, XX p. 26. (This piece of information is based on the bards saying among the Meos, Known as Mirasis, Todar Mal was the *zamindar* of Ajangarh, an old fort on the hill, Todar Mal used to repeat the following verse :

'Panch Pahar ka rajahi, aur puro tero dall

Adha Akbar Badshah, adhah pahet Todar Malls'

⁸³ *ibid.*

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

confirmed by any of the contemporary sources. *Ain* records them as the *zamindars* against *parganas* of Tijara, Sahar and Alwar.

The Khanzadas are recorded to be found in the *parganas* of Indri, Ujinah, Bisru, Kotla of *sarkar* Tijara; Jalalpur and Ismailpur in *sarkar* Alwar.⁸⁵ However reference to them is made in *Baburnama* as well at an earlier date.⁸⁶ According to the post Mughal sources, *Arjang-i-Tijarah* and *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, the Khanzadas claim their origin from the Jadon clan of Rajputs, who were settled in the Thangarh fort of *sarkar* Alwar⁸⁷ i.e. in present Rajasthan province. It was during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah, that the descendents of Lakhanpala, Sambhar Pala and Sopar Pal embraced Islam and took the name Nahar Khan and Jhajjar Khan respectively.⁸⁸ The historical account does not refer much about Jhajjar Khan, whereas descendents of Nahar Khan find frequent mention. They spread in the area covered by the *parganas* of *sarkars* Delhi and Rewari in *suba* Delhi and that of *parganas* Tijara, Sahar, Alwar and Agra of *suba* Agra.⁸⁹ This area has been recorded in contemporary sources as Mewat tract.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 451-453 and (tr.) II, pp. 202-04

⁸⁶ *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 545, 547, 551, 577-81

⁸⁷ Muhammad Makhdum, *Arjang-i-Tijarah*, pp. 7 & 17; *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, (Urdu text), pp. 345-46. Also see Alexendar Cunningham, *ASIR*, XX, pp. 10-16; K.K. Trivedi, *Agra : Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 114-115.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.8; *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, p. 345; also see Alexendar Cunnigham, *ASIR*, XX, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), pp. 202-06, *Arjang-i-Tijarah*, pp. 35-55 as cited in K. K. Trivedi, *Agra: Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 114 & 127.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

Nahar Khan popularly known as Bahadur Khan or Bahadur Nahar, played a vital role in the post Firuz Shah period.⁹¹ His name appears before and after Timur's invasion (1398), being actively involved in the politics of Delhi.⁹² Later his successors caused trouble for the Delhi Sultans. However they were reduced by the royal forces.⁹³ During the time of the Lodhis, Khanzadas did not maintain good relations and therefore lost some of their possessions.⁹⁴ Still later, they sided with Rana Sanga against Babur in the battle of Khanwa,⁹⁵ and therefore had bitter relations with the Mughals. Their leader at this point of time was Hasan Khan Mewati, who was killed in the battle.⁹⁶ They are recorded as the *zamindars* in the *parganas* of *sarkar* Tijara and Alwar only.⁹⁷ The Khanzadas do not find any mention as *mansabdars* either under Akbar or Jahangir. However, under Shahjahan, one Firuz Khan Mewati's name appears in the imperial services.⁹⁸ During the war of successions Feroz Khan is reported to have left the camp of the Prince Dara Shikoh and joined the services of Aurangzeb. He is recorded as to be

⁹¹ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, (tr.), pp. 149-50, 154, 157, 159, 162, 172-74, 186 & 198.

⁹² *ibid.*, pp. 172-73 & 210n.

⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 212-213, 235.

⁹⁴ *Arjang-i-Tijarah*, pp. 20-21 and 23 as cited in K. K. Trivedi, *Agra : Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 127-28.

⁹⁵ *Baburnama*, (tr.) pp. 545, 547, 551, 562, 577-81; *Arjang-i-Tijarah*, pp. 17-18 as cited in K. K. Trivedi, *Agra : Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 115 & 128.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*,

⁹⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 453-55 and (tr.), II, pp. 201-04.

⁹⁸ *Arjang-i-Tijarah*, p. 17 as cited in K. K. Trivedi *Agra : Economic and Political Profile*, pp. 115 & 128; Also see M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, pp. 116 & 200.

enrolled under Auraungzeb in the rank of 1500/1000.⁹⁹ Similarly his son Purdil Khan also remained in the service of Aurangzeb.¹⁰⁰ Thus a brief account of Khanzadas suggests that they belonged to the class of local land magnates.

KyamKhanis though recorded only in the *pargana* Narhar of *sarkar* Narnaul in Haryana region as *zamindar* class,¹⁰¹ however played significant role in pre-Mughal times in the polity of Delhi Sultanate. *Kyam Khan Rasa* of Jan kavi gives insight of the contemporary times.¹⁰² Kyam Khanis trace their origin from Karam Chand Chauhan Rajput,¹⁰³ who was popularly known as Qyam Khan, who was converted to Islam by Sultan Firuz Shah.¹⁰⁴ The education and military training was imparted to him at Hissar-i-Firuz which was founded by Sultan himself.¹⁰⁵ Qyam Khan remained influential during the reign of successor of Firuz Shah.¹⁰⁶ He first came in conflict with Khizr Khan (Sayyid) and later supported him in his effort in the conquest of

⁹⁹ *Alamgirnama*, pp. 96 and 440 also see K. K. Trivedi, *Agra : Economic and Political Profile* pp. 115 & 128.

¹⁰⁰ *Tazkirat-ul-Umara of Kewal Ram*, p. 34.

¹⁰¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 453-54 and (tr.) II, pp. 204-05.

¹⁰² Jan Kavi, *Kyam Khana Rasa*, c. 1625, (ed.) Dashrath Sharma et. al, series no. 13, Rajasthan Puratan Mandir, Jaipur, 1953, pp. 13-36 for a commentary on the account of KyamKhanis.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, (text), p. 11 and verses, 120-122; Karam Chand was the son of Mota Ram Rai Rajput who was a Chauhan. See verses 85-119 and pp. 8-11 of the text *Kyam Khana Rasa*.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, (text), p. 12 and verse 132.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 12-14 and verses 136-60.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 15-16 and verse 175, though there is no supportive evidence to show that such an officer existed under Firuz Shah.

Delhi and other places.¹⁰⁷ Qyam Khan died at the age of ninety five.¹⁰⁸ His successors were based at Hissar-i-Firuz¹⁰⁹ and Hansi,¹¹⁰ and commanded influence in Haryana region along with Nagor of Rajasthan Province. The Successor of Qyam Khan, Fath Khan received favours from Sultan Bahlul Lodhi.¹¹¹ However his relationship with the sultan deteriorated over some issue of marriage. He then never visited Delhi till his death.¹¹²

Kyam Khan Rasa records the Valour of KyamKhanis under the Mughals. Kyam Khanis were mainly based at Fatahpur in Rajasthan. However their kinsmen continued to stay in Haryana region. They received *mansab*, titles and *jagirs* at other places. The name of Alaf Khan emerged prominently during the reign of Akbar and Jhangir.¹¹³ He led campaigns in the south, Mewat and Kangra.¹¹⁴ Alaf Khan was succeeded by Daulat Khan, who received title of *diwan* under Shahjahan¹¹⁵ and remained in Kangra for fourteen years and thereafter went to Kabul and Peshawar.¹¹⁶ His son, Tahar Khan received high *mansab* and Nagor from Shahjahan, where he stayed for few months.¹¹⁷ He died while he was on campaigns towards Kabul and

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 21-26 and verse 246-307.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, (text), p. 26 and verse 304.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 27-28 and verses 309-11.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, (text), p. 31 and verse 373.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 33-34 and verses 394-405.

¹¹² *ibid.*, (text), p. 37 and verses 438-444.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 57-82 and verses 671-940.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 61-82 and verses 719-940.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, (text), p. 82 and verses 942-43.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, (text), p. 83 and verses 956.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 83-86 and verses 958-980.

Kandhar.¹¹⁸ Similarly, his father Daulat Khan died there.¹¹⁹ Their successors ruled at Fatehpur and were famous as Nawabs.¹²⁰

A brief account of KyamKhanis suggests that though they resided in Haryana region for a short period, but with their valour, could establish good rapport with imperial authorities. Jan Kavi only traces their political conduct and remains silent on their social life. Their relationships with others like Meo, Kachchawah, Jatu, Jodha, Rathors, etc. however is some times reflected in *Kyam Khan Rasa*. It suggests that they remained in commanding position and were closely associated with the Mughals.

During the course of earlier discussions (Chapter IV), we have found mention of a number of fortified settlements and important personalities. For instance Nusarat-ud-din Taisi Muzzi was the *maqti* of Hansi (1227-28) and Balban remained incharge of *iqta* Hansi and stayed there for some time.¹²¹ Similarly, Ibn Batutta inform us of Kamal-ud-din and Qutlugh Khan who were originally the residents of Hansi.¹²² *Kamal-ud-din, sadr-i-jahan* beame *qazi-ul-qazat* (Chief Justice) of the Sultanate in first half of fourteenth century.¹²³ Similarly, he mentions about one Shams-ud-din al Fushanji of Sirsa, who was a Chamberlain.¹²⁴ Afif inform us of Malik Dalyan as *shiqqdar*

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 85-86 and verses 978-980.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 89-90 and verses 1024-1031.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, (text), pp. 91-92 and verses 1032-1045.

¹²¹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (text), pp. 239-42, 281-324.

¹²² Ibn Batutta, *The Rehla*, (tr.), p. 23.

¹²³ *ibid.*

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

of Hissar-i-Firuz in mid fourteenth century.¹²⁵ Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz was *maqti* of Palwal.¹²⁶ Malik saif-ud-din Aibak and Taj-ud-din Sanjar as *maqti* of Sirsa during thirteenth century.¹²⁷

During Mughal times the urban settlements besides having the local officers in hierarchy had the imperial officers along with their retainers. They stayed there during their assignment tenure. For instance Chugta khan was appointed as *faujdar* of Mewat during 1st RY of Akbar.¹²⁸ Iqram Khan Hoshang was appointed as *faujdar* of Hissar during 19th RY of Jahangir with a *mansab* of 2000.¹²⁹ Fakhruddin Ahmad alias Taribyat Khan was appointed as *faujdar* of Hissar with a *mansab* of 800 during 1st RY of Shahjahan.¹³⁰ Khwaja Abdul Makarm alias Jan Nisar Khan appointed as *faujdar* of Narnaul with *mansab* of 2000, during the 45th RY of Aurangzeb.¹³¹

If was also noticed that Hansi- Hissar and Narnaul territories were given to close confidant of Delhi Sultans, and to the princes during Mughal regime. Whenever they visited these places, they recorded hectic mobility. The imperial offices and princes were followed by large contingents. Definitely the urban settlements experienced new life.

¹²⁵ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 128.

¹²⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (text), pp. 233-53.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, (text), pp.238-39, 254-55.

¹²⁸ *Tazikirat-ul-Umra of Kewal Ram*, p. 46.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 46.

Other essential component at these urban settlements were the religious person, people of knowledge, *ulemas*, *qazis*, *pundits* etc. Hansi, Panipat, Narnaul and Thanesar are reported to have emerged as prominent sacred centres in contemporary times. Mention of sufi saints based at these settlements has already been made in Chapter IV of this thesis. These *sufi* saints established *khanqas* (hospice), which were inhabited by sizeable population. Hansi is reported to be the residence of the disciples of *Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar*. The complex is famous as *Char Qutub* and the tombs of the Shaykh Jalal-ul-din and his successors are still intact at Hansi. Thanesar, which is recorded as Hindu pilgrim centre¹³² emerged as *sufi* centre and centre of Sikh religion as well. In sixteenth century, it was inhabited by various hindu sects. The name of two sects appears on the occasion of solar eclipse, when Akbar visited it.¹³³ According to *Akbarnama*, these sects were Puri and Kur,¹³⁴ who stayed earlier as well as afterwards. During our study period, Thanesar evidenced fair twice¹³⁵ on the occasion of solar eclipse. It evidenced larger number of people visiting the above mentioned occasion. This large population can be considered the transient population, who visited it either from Haryana region or outside the Haryana region.

¹³² *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 516-17 and (tr.) II, pp. 289-89.

¹³³ *Akabarnama*, (tr.), II, pp. 422-24.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ *ibid.*; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 301-03.

The *vaishya* community are generally considered dealing with the trade. Our contemporary sources do not indicate that much trading activity was carried out in Haryana region as it is evident in case of Gujarat or Bengal. But the existence of transit trade and trade in agrarian production is however recorded. It might suggest something on the nature of permanent population involved in such activities in Haryana region, during the study period.

No particular caste is recorded as the trading community in the Haryana region. However, the ancestors of the author of *Ardhakathanak*, Banarsidas were the residents of the village Biholi near Rohtak.¹³⁶ Banarasidas and his ancestors were Jains. They belonged to clan of Srimals.¹³⁷ Ganga and Gosala were settled in Rohtak and took over to trade.¹³⁸ In the later period, the family shifted to the larger towns of the north India and emerged as a promising trading family. Similarly, Hemu who belonged to Dhunsar tribe¹³⁹ used to sell products on the streets of Rewari.¹⁴⁰ The commodity referred is *namak-i-shor*.

¹³⁶ Banarsidas, *Ardhakathanak*, (tr.) introduced and annotated by Mukund Lath, *Half A Tale : A Study in the Interrelationship between Autobiography and History*, Jaipur 1981, p.2 & c.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, (for Rohtak see pp. 109-111)

¹³⁸ *ibid.*,

¹³⁹ *Akbarnama*, (tr.), II, pp. 71-72.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*; (tr.) I, pp. 615-19. (He can not be considered belonging to the trading community. The instance is quoted to support that during medieval times the case of changing the occupation use to take place). Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, p. 237, however, records them as involved in petty hawking and peddling) Also see Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 244-45.

Frequent reference is also found to *banjara* traders in case of Haryana region along the major and minor routes. It is not clear from the contemporary sources whether they constituted the permanent population of Haryana region or not. But the secondary sources throw some light on the *banjaras*. Elliot has given the vivid description of *banjaras*.¹⁴¹ According to Denzil Ibbeston they were 'the great travelling traders and carriers' and under the Afghan and Mughal Emperors they were the commissariat of imperial forces'.¹⁴²

We find reference to *baniyas*, who derive the present nomenclature from the Sanskrit term *banijya* which means trade. The *mahajans* recorded in contemporary sources, stayed in both rural and urban settlements. They probably belonged to *baniya* castes. A reference to them is found in Firuz Shah period at Sirsa.¹⁴³ They tendered loans to Sultan Firuz Shah. The amount borrowed was used to pay the forces. Similar reference is not recorded in Mughal times for the region. However, the probability of their existence can not be ruled out in the *qasbas* and *shahars*. Denzil Ibbeston identifies their existence 'in great number only in Delhi and Hissar divisions, Ambala...'.¹⁴⁴ He also provides reference to various sub-castes of *baniyas* (occupational caste) : Agarwala, originally located at Agroha in Hissar.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ H. M. Elliot, *Races of the North Western Provinces*, I, pp. 52-56.

¹⁴² Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, p. 254.

¹⁴³ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 59

¹⁴⁴ Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, p. 242.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 243.

Saralia *baniyas*, branch of Agarwals; they got separated from the Agarwals of Agroha and settled in Sarala, a settlement not far from Agroha.¹⁴⁶

Dhunsar, which have been already mentioned above, records their headquarters at Rewari.¹⁴⁷

The last essential component of the Haryana region were the artisans both skilled and un-skilled, menial castes etc. They were involved in variety of occupations associated with both agrarian and non-agrarian activities. Our sources are silent regarding the identification of these castes for Haryana region. But they refer in general about them as occupational castes at various occasions. Taking various occupations as essential activity at the urban settlements (at least for medium size *shahars* and *qasbas*, I have attempted to provide their account on the basis of secondary sources and stray references in contemporary accounts.

Thanesar and Panipat, which are recorded as important textile production centres in the contemporary times, definitely contained weavers communities. The artisans engaged in textile work, probably were located all over the Haryana region, but these settlements excelled due to their location along the frequented route. According to Denzil Ibbeston, term used for the artisans of textile craftsmanship is *julah* (weaver)¹⁴⁸ The others associated

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 244.

¹⁴⁷ *Akbarnama*, (tr.) I, pp. 615-19.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 302-03

with allied activities are washerman, dyer and tailor.¹⁴⁹ They belong to various castes : *dhobi*, *rangrez*, *darzis* etc. The weavers and allied artisans belonged to both hindu and muslim communities. The percentage shown in 1881 census indicates about the larger percentage of muslim community as artisans.

The other artisans, which inhabited the urban settlements were leather workers or *chamars*,¹⁵⁰ water carriers or *kahar* or *mahar*,¹⁵¹ potter or *kumhar*,¹⁵² *thathara*-seller of vessels of copper, brass and other metals,¹⁵³ jeweller or *sunar*,¹⁵⁴ saltmaker or *agari*,¹⁵⁵ saltpetre maker or *nungar* or *shorgar*,¹⁵⁶ oil presser or *teli*.¹⁵⁷

In the last one can infer that the Haryana region was thickly populated. The population was engaged in various activities : administrative, trading, religious, production, craftsmanship etc. These activities carried out during the study period contributed to the generative growth of the region. The inter-personal relations between various social groups, both at horizontal and vertical level created dynamic environment, which infused both vertical and horizontal mobility.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 320-24

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 296-301.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 306.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 317.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 316.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

This work entitled **Urban Dynamics in Haryana (14th to Mid- 18th Century)** evaluates the pace of urbanisation and its dynamics in rural-urban interaction within the present Haryana territory. The effort during the historical inquiry has been to understand the making of region, assessment of agrarian potential and the non-agrarian indispensability, emergence and development of urban settlements, their relations with the rural settlements and the creation of societal network which finds genesis in administrative, political, economic, social, linguistic and the cultural factors in the ecological set up that got framed in a period of more than four hundred and fifty years.

The present historical inquiry establishes Haryana region as man-made. Its first attempt is at the identification of the location of the region which establishes its political and strategic eminence. The definite location of the present Haryana territory is traced in two core provinces (*subas*)—Delhi and Agra of the late sixteenth century in the intermediate units (*sarkars*)—Delhi, Hissar-i-Firuza, Rewari, Sirhind, Narnaul, Tijara, Alwar and Sahar, respectively. But certain territorial adjustments are also visible through transfer of Narnaul and Tijara to the province of Delhi from Agra in second half of seventeenth century. The sub-territory occupied by Pinjaur and its surroundings in extreme north of Haryana region was also shifted to Delhi province in the first decade of eighteenth century. These territorial adjustment seem to be the result of expectations and realization of incurring benefits through the natural resources located in the intermediate units

(*sarkars*) of the Delhi province along the southern boundary of Haryana region. The efforts carried in agricultural sector, craft production and transit trade were equally significant for the said adjustments. Once the region evolved in relation to administrative and economic parameters they provided ground for the existence of rural and urban settlements in the region.

The assessment of agrarian potential reveals that the region in the beginning of the thirteenth century was relatively less productive to that of second half of the fourteenth century. The change was brought through the efforts in the field of irrigation by the digging of the canals—*Rajabwah* and *Ulugh Khani*. This period evidenced increase in extent of cultivation, high yield and surplus revenue which enhanced the economic potential of the region. The comparison of Thakur Pheru, Barani, Afif and Yahya bin Sirhindi's account supports this and establishes that though the region had numerous arable pockets yet the non-arable pockets were brought to usage. The actual cultivated land is computed on the basis of *Ain's arazi* for the Haryana region. The net cultivated area comes out to be 64% of the Haryana territory for c.1595. This would have probably increased in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. It is established on the basis of the comparison of revenue estimates in *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Chahar Gulshan*. This improvement in agricultural sector was due to re-excavation of Firuz Shah's canal (renamed *Shekuni* under Akbar and *Nahar-i-Bihisht* (under Shahajahan). The role of the artificial irrigation therefore became vital in the growth of agrarian economy of the Haryana region.

The region is recorded to produce twenty five to forty five crops annually through out the study period. The maximum benefits were extracted out of the production of cash crops—cotton, sugar-cane, indigo; though the food and other crops played significant role. Few settlements excelled in the by-products of the cash crops . They emerged as collection and distribution centres for both food and cash crops. Among the chief cash crop by-product centres—Maham/Mahim excelled in refined candied sugar; the rural settlement of the Mewat tract excelled in the extraction of indigo dye, which were next to Bayana and Kol's produce in the contemporary times. Similarly, the cotton produced in the region was utilized for preparation of cotton-yarn. Panipat emerged famous for coarse white cotton cloth which was as good as that of the cloth prepared at Samana. Thanesar emerged popular for woven fabrics. The agrarian commodities and by-products were not only having markets in the region but had access to large urban settlements outside the Haryana territory. The larger settlements were Delhi, Agra, Ajmer, Sirhind, Samana, Lahore, Multan etc. The comparison of revenue estimates further suggest that the agrarian activity remained the chief occupation of the inhabitants of the Haryana region.

The horticulture activity was no less important. Special efforts were made in the plantation of fruit trees since the times of Firuz Shah which gathered momentum through out the study period. Pinjaur was popular as rose cultivating centre. Out of which rose water was extracted in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Khizrabad in the northern extreme of Haryana territory served as wood-mart. It catered the need of the places outside the region. The wood was probably used for making boats and sometimes furniture and building industry in limited manner. The wood for fuel was obtained locally in the region.

Animal husbandry was third vital pillar of the Haryana economy. The inhabitants enriched their resources through the preparation of the *ghee* (clarified butter) from the milk obtained from their animals. Hansi- Hissar region has been identified as exclusive for this. The *ghee* was sent to imperial kitchen at Delhi and Agra in Mughal times. The region also benefited from sheep through which inhabitants obtained wool. Though none of the settlements emerged as significant centres in the production of wool products. Similarly, settlements in the Mewat tract emerged as breeding centres for horses. The horses of the Mewat tract fulfilled the need of cavalry contingents of the *zamindars* of the Mughal empire.

Haryana region benefited from the exploitation of the natural wealth i.e., mineral resources . The extraction of copper from mines located in the surroundings of the southern Haryana, its usage in minting of coins, arms industry and utensil making. Similarly, the extraction of salt-peter from Thanesar benefited in the manufacture of gun powder and cooling of water. It is discovered with regard to Haryana that though no settlement could emerge popular for manufacture of gun powder or its usage in cooling of water, yet it created market outside the Haryana region. The imperial and provincial

capitals generated demands for the salt-peter which in turn had access to international market in a limited manner.

The other non-agrarian productive activities in the Haryana region were iron smithy, building construction, weaving and allied work, brass work etc. which generated marginal income through the heterogeneous occupations in various rural and urban settlements. The population engaged in these activities were skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled artisans.

Thus the agrarian expansion and extended non-agrarian activities contributed in the dynamism of the region in various ways:-

The first can be observed in the strengthening of regions' political and territorial significance which accelerated the mobility in the region on one hand and interaction with the adjoining regions on the other. During pre-fourteenth century, the Delhi Sultans assigned parts of Haryana (*iqta / shiqq*) to confident nobles and sometimes to the princes or they remained part of *Khalisa* land. Since post mid-fourteenth century the rulers attempted to keep the parts of the region under their direct control. The *sarkars* comprising region largely remained in Delhi *suba* under Mughals. These were assigned to the heir apparents or confident nobles. The case of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuzi is recorded as unique. It remained as *jagir* in the hands of Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shahajahan, and Dara Shikoh when they were prince. Similarly, the other *sarkars* were assigned to the confident nobles.

The second contribution is evident in economic growth through the increasing number of villages, *qasbas* and medium size *shahars*. During pre-fourteenth century the arable land was less in comparison to post mid-fourteenth century. The realization of more arable land initiated the process of emergence of new rural settlements which expanded to the size of *qasbas*. Many of these *qasbas* acquired the status of *pargana* headquarters, for example:- Dhatart, Safedon, Barwala, Jamalpur, Khanda, Barwa, Agroha, Ahroni, Bhatu, Siron, Tosham, Tohana, Baharangi, Atkhera, Bhangiwal, etc.. Similarly, the *qasbas* acquired the size of medium size *shahars* like Jind, Kaithal, Rohtak, Kanauda, Firuzpur, Bawal, Kotla, etc. Many of the medium size *shahars* emerged as prominent urban centers like Rewari, Narnaul, Hansi, Sirsa, Hissar-i-Firuz, Thanesar, Panipat, Karnal, Sonapat, Kanauda, etc. Narnaul, Rewari, Hissar-i-Firuz were even raised to *sarkar* headquarters. Several *qasbas* and *medium size shahars* had forts, markets and other essential amenities which were ideal to the medieval standards in case of urban settlements.

The third consequence is recorded in the emergence of these *qasba* and *shahar* settlements into collection and distribution centres i.e., grain *mandis* of agricultural produce. Sirsa remained famous for its fine quality rice in the first half of fourteenth century. Rice was an export item. The other settlements which probably existed as prominent grain markets were Hansi, Fatahabad, Barwala, Jind, Dhatart, Safedon, Rohtak, Kaithal, Jhajjar, Dadri, Panipat, Ganaur, Beri-Dobladhan, Sonapat, Thanesar, Shahabad,

Tirwari, Azmabad, Gohana, Tohana, Narhar, Zerpur, Kohirana, Kohrana, Khodana, Ghelot, Rewari, Palwal, Taoru, Kotla, Ujina, Umra, Umri, Hodal, Bandhaudli, etc. It is relevant to mention that many of these are still traced as *mandis* in the region. This grain *mandi* settlements remained dynamic in inter-regional trade. They fulfilled the demands of imperial and provincial capitals beside the large urban settlements outside the Haryana region—like Delhi, Agra, Sirhind, Ajmer, Bikaner, Samana, Sunam, Bhatnair (present Hanumangarh), etc. The grain trade remained the part of long distance trade and this is how the grain *mandis* were vertically linked to the other parts of Indian sub-continent (see **Map III**).

Almost all the *qasbas* and *shahars* had the permanent and temporary markets. Wherever these did not existed the weekly or bi-weekly *bazaars* were held. These *bazaars* remained the hub of activities in transaction of agrarian commodities and non-agrarian products brought from the rural and urban settlements of the Haryana region and outside it. *Shahars* in particular dealt with the outside products and these products were introduced inside the *qasbas* through them. The chief *shahars* identified for the said purpose were Thanesar, Panipat, Karnal, Sonapat, Rohtak, Rewari, Narnaul, Kanauda, Hansi, Sirsa, Hissar-i-Firuza, etc. Both agrarian and non-agrarian products traversed along the major and minor (secondary and tertiary) routes. The agencies involved in the transaction were the *banjara* community, traders and sometimes Afghani, Multani, Khurasani and European merchants.

The long distance trade actually created conditions for the establishment of *sarais* in the region. The *shahars* which were located along the frequented routes contained one or more *sarais*. Wherever the distance was much between the two *shahars*, *sarais* were developed by the state, or local authorities or merchants. The study has recorded two phenomenon regarding this process. First, if there was a *qasba* on the route, a *sarai* was developed into it. Secondly, if no settlement existed along the route than a *sarai* was established and subsequently a settlement emerged which expanded to the size of *qasba*. In the first case, the *sarais* in Haryana region, *sarais* emerged at Sirsa, Hansi, Fatahabad, Hissar-i-Firuza, Rohtak, Mandhauthi along the Delhi-Multan route via Ajodhan-Hansi-Mandhauthi; at Ambala, Thanesar, Karnal, Panipat, Sonapat, Palwal along Delhi-Lahore route and at Pataudi, Rewari along Delhi-Ajmer route. In the second case where the *sarais* emerged first were Shahabad, Azmabad, Gharaunda, Samalkha, Ganaur, Narela (in Delhi), Faridabad, Ballabhgarh, Sikri, Bamnikhera and Hodal along Lahore -Delhi – Agra route. These *sarais* in these settlements played a vital role in two ways. First, they provided security to the travelers and secondly these enhanced the trade transactions. The large size *sarais* in Haryana region are recorded at Gharunada, Palwal and Hodal. However, the other *sarais* along the frequented route were equally significant irrespective of their size.

The mints at Hissar-i-Firuza and Narnaul since the sixteenth century in the region suggests that region had emerged economically potent and trade

dynamism became the chief parameter for such a decision on the part of state regarding the minting facilities in the region.

The region evidenced numerous urban settlements. Both *qasbas* and *Shahars* emerged and existed either being the administrative centres (*pargana* and *sarkar* headquarters), production centres, commercial centres or sacred centres, primarily. Apparently, none played the unitary role. Rather their role remained multifunctional. The survey of the various urban settlement in the region reveals that the settlements which acquired eminence was due to political and economic considerations. Among the political consideration were their strategic location or them being the seat of power in pre-Turkish period. Hansi, Sirsa and Thanesar finds place in this category. These were fortified settlements with garrisons stationed there. These were also subsequently declared the *iqta* headquarters in the Turkish period. The other centres which emerged little later were Fatahabad and Hissar-i-Firuz. Out of all these Hissar-i-Firuz became most eminent and was declared the *sarkar* headquarters. Its strategic and administrative significance is nicely proven. The other urban settlements which fall in this category are – Narnaul and Rewari as *sarkar* headquarters and Rohtak, Panipat, Kanauda, Firuzpur, Kotla, Bawal, etc. as *pargana* headquarters.

The second category included the settlements like Thanesar, Panipat, Karnal, Sonapat, Maham/ Mahim, Khizrabad and Pinjaur few *qasba* settlements in the Mewat tract (south Haryana) due to their production capacities either in textile, iron-products, refined candied sugar, indigo or

something else. They played the role of eminent collection and distribution centres in the region due to their location along the frequented routes. These eminent collection and distribution centres in turn were linked to *qasba* settlements which were grain *mandis* (Bawal, Rewari, Dadri, Jhajjar, Jind, Dhatart, Safedon, Agroha, Ahroni, Atkhera, Jamalpur, Mandhauti, Ghelot, Pataudi, Umra Umri, Ujina, Bandhauli, etc). Thus, these together participated in the commercial activities at various stages (long distance and transit trade).

The other category settlements which gained prominence were the pilgrim centres. For instance, Thanesar, Hansi, Panipat remained most significant. However Kaithal, Hissar, Sohana, Pinjaur, Jind existed with less significance for the same reason.

The surveyed urban settlements also evidenced active social network with the rural settlement of the region. The majority of population remained rural based. The socio-historical inquiry suggests both traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes- Jats, Gujars, Ahirs, Meos, etc, and Rajput, Shiakhzadas, Malikzadas, Sayyids, Afghans, Khanzadas, Brahmans, etc. respectively. All these, however, maintained hierarchy in their inter-relationships at both occupational and social level. The region evidenced harmonical relations largely. But- the occassional clashes can not be ruled out. These occassional clashes did not, however, affected the rural-urban relationship adversely and the dynamism continued.

Among the non agrarian communities were traders (of large and small establishments), skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled artisans. In the hierarchy, the trading communities finds place in the middle stratum. This includes *baniya*, *mahajan*, *sharoff*, *sahukar* etc. They are found in both settlements. The artisans community formed the lowest group and were largely traceable in the *qasbas* and *shahars*. However their relations from the rural settlements were never segregated completely.

The above mentioned social components were more or less permanent in nature. The transitory population in the urban settlements was constituted by the state officials, merchants (foreigners and traders of the other region) *banjaras*, army contingents, etc. They were more urban oriented in their social approach and never stressed for any kind of permanency.

Thus, overall understanding of the Haryana region establishes that it had emerged as economically prosperous zone. The politico- social and economic synthesis generated both horizontal and vertical mobility in economic and social arena in the study period. The urban settlements which emerged and existed between fourteenth and mid eighteenth century got enlarged and many of them acquired status of district headquarters in the present times such as Ambala, Karnal, Panipat, Sonapat, Rohtak, Mohindergarh (former Kanauda), Narnaul, Rewari, Faridabad, Kurukshetra (former Thanesar), Hissar, Sirsa, Jind, etc.

Finally one can observe that rural-urban settlements interaction in the region was of adequate degree. However, the urban settlement could not emerge exclusively with urban characteristics as was the case of the urban settlements of *suba* Gujarat in the medieval period. The reason lies in the Haryana region being an inland region and also inland commerce did not prove very promising as that of coastal commerce. The urban dynamism is evident in a limited manner. Therefore, it can be stated that urban dynamism in Haryana region lied in between.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX — II A

Table showing Haryana region in *sarkars* of the Delhi and Agra *suba*.

<i>Suba</i>	<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Pargana</i>	<i>Ain's arazi</i> measured area in <i>bighas</i>	<i>Ain's arazi</i> measured area in sq kms
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DELHI	Delhi	Islamabad Pakal	97,068	235.700
		Beri Dobladhan	119,003	288.961
		Paniapt	568,444	1380.296
		Jhajjar	128,417	311.822
		Rohtak	636,835	1546.362
		Sonepat	283,299	687.907
		Safedon	81,730	198.457
		Karnal	540,444	1312.306
		Ganaur	40,991	99.534
		Dadri	179,789	435.554
		Kharkhaunda	51,896	126.014
		Mandhauti	90,464	219.665
		Palwal	234,783	570.100
Total			3,053,163	7,412.678

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DELHI	Rewari	Bawal	110,375	268.013
		Rewari	405,108	983.683
		Pataudi	61,970	150.476
		Bhorahah	38,547	93.600
		Taoru	35,858	87.070
		Ghelot	27,271	66.219
		Kohana	15,264	37.064
		Sohana	251,738	611.270
Total			946,131	2,297.395
DELHI	Hissar -i-	Ahroni	19,537	47.440
	Firuzia	Agroha	45,717	11.010
		Atkhera	82,991	201.519
		Bhangiwal	—	—
		Baharangi	—	—
		Barwala	136,799	332.175
		Bhatu	—	—
		Barwa	6,254	15.186
		Tohana	180,744	438.883
		Tosham	511,075	1240.992
		Jind	281,584	698.891
		Jamalpur	142,455	345.909
		Hissar	176,513	428.608
		Dhatart	29,208	70.923

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Sirsa	258,335	627.337
		Siron	—	—
		Sewani	48,512	117.797
		Shanzadah dihat	29,740	72.215
		Fatahabad	33,661	81.736
		Gohana	68,951	167.427
		Khanda	19,438	47.199
		Mahin /Maham	188,080	456.696
		Hansi	836,115	2030.254
Total			3,606,804	8,773.189
DELHI	Sirhind	Ambala	154,769	375.810
		Thanesar	228,989	556.031
		Khizrabad	332,489	807.350
		Sadhaura	34,361	83.350
		Shahabad	134,146	325.733
		Kaithal	918,025	2,229.148
		Dorala	65,768	159.697
		Pundri	34,190	83.020
		Guhram	188,574	457.895
		Mustafabad	271,399	659.011
		Habri	93,756	227.658
Total			2,456,466	5,964.788

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
AGRA	Tijara	Indri	134,150	325.743
		Ujina	33,926	82.379
		Umra Umri	8,107	19.685
		Bisru	35,703	86.694
		Pur	2,476	6.012
		Pinanjwan	75,148	182.479
		Jhimrawat	22,633	54.957
		Khanpur	9,893	24.022
		Sakras	12,106	29.395
		Santhadari	7,713	18.729
		Firzpur	64,150	155.769
		Kotla	71,265	173.046
		Ghasera	9,785	23.760
		Nagina	7,216	17.522
Total		626,231	1,200.187	
AGRA	Alwar	Bajherah	2,663	6.466
		Kohari Rana	2,208	5.361
		Kohrana	3,565	8.656
		Mubarikbur	18,636	45.251
		Total		27,072	65.734

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
AGRA	Narnaul	Narnaul	214,218	520.164
		Narhar	356,293	865.150
		Kanauda	10,723	26.038
		Chal Kalinah	517,540	1,256.690
		Khodana	18,493	44.904
Total			1,117,267	2,712.946
AGRA	Sahar	Bandhauli	25,980	63.085
		Hodal	78,500	190.614
Total			104,480	253.699
Grand Total			11,937,614	28,680.616

Source: *Ain -i- Akbari* , I, pp. 453-55, 518-20, 525-27; II, (tr.), pp. 203-06, 291-93, 298-301.

APPENDIX — V A

Table showing the various traditional and non - traditional cultivating castes in the Haryana region.

<i>Suba</i>	<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Pargana</i>	Traditional cultivating caste	Non- traditional cultivating caste
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DELHI	Delhi	Palwal	Gujar	Rajput
		Jhajjar	Jat	—
		Rohtak	Jat	—
		Sonepat	Jat	Afghan
		Safedon	Jat	Ranghar, Rajput
		Karnal	—	Rajput , Ranghar
		Ganuar	—	Taga
		Kharkhaunda	Jat	Afghan
		Mandhauti	Jat	—
		Islamabad	Ahir	Rajput
		Pakal		
		Panipat	Gujar	Ranghar, Afghan
	Rewari	Bawal	Jat, Ahir	Rajput
		Pataudi	Jat, Ahir	Rajput
		Bhoharah	Ahir	—
		Taoru	—	Musalman (Khaildar ?)
		Rewari	Ahir, Jat	—
		Ghelot	Thathar	Rajput
		Kohana	Thathar	Rajput
		Sohna	Thathar	Rajput

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DELHI	Hissar-i-Firuz	Agroha	Jat	Jatu
		Ahroni	Gujar, Jat	—
		Atkhera	Jat	Tonwar, Rajput
		Bhangiwal	Jat	Rathor, Rajput
		Barwala	—	Sayyid, Malikzada Bakkal
		Bhatu	Jat	—
		Barwa	Jat	Jatu
		Tohana	—	Afghan, Lohani
		Tosham	Jat	Tonwar, Rajput
		Jind	—	Jatu, Salar, Rajput
		Jamalpur	Jat	Tonwar, Rajput
		Hissar	Seron, Sangwan	Ranghar, Jatu
		Dhatart	Jat	Afghan
		Sirsa	—	Joiya/Joya
		Siron	Jat, Seron	—
		Sewani	Jat	Rajput
		Fatahabad	Gujar, Jat	Rathor, Rajput
		Gohana	Jat, Dadbalsa	—
		Khanda	Jat, Gadi	Tonwar, Rajput
		Hansi	Jat	Jatu, Rajput Multani
		Mahim/Maham	Jat	Tonwar, Rajput

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DELHI	Sirhind	Ambala	—	—
		Thanesar	Jat	Raghar
		Khizrabad	Jat	Bhatti
		Sadhaura	—	Ranghar , Chauhan
		Shahabad	—	Chauhan, Rajput
		Kaithal	—	Ranghar
		Guhram	Jat	Ranghar
		Dorala	—	Ranghar
		Chahhta	—	Afghan, Rajput
AGRA	Tijara	Indri	—	Khanzada
		Ujina	Thathar	Khanzada
		Umra Umri	Thatahr, Meo	—
		Bisru	Meo	Khanzada
		Tijara	Meo	—
		Khanpur	Meo	—
		Firuzpur	Meo	—
		Ghasera	Meo	—
		Kotla	Gujar	Khanzada
		Nagina	Meo	—
	Alwar	Mandawar	—	Chauhan , Rajput
		Harsauli	Meo	—
		Jalalpur	Meo	Khanzada
		Ismailpur	—	Khanzada

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
AGRA	Narnaul	Chal Kalinah	Jat, Sangwan	—
		Kanodah	Jat, Halu	Rajput, Musalman
		Khodana	Jat	—
		Narnaul	—	Chauhan, Rajput
		Narhar	Ahir	KiamKhani / Kyam Khani, Afghan, Makar
AGRA	Sahar	Bandhauli	Jat & c	—
		Hodal	Jat & c	—

Source: *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, PP. 453-55, 518-20, 525-27; (tr.) II, pp. 203-06, 291-93 and 298-301

APPENDIX — V B

Table showing the *Suyurghal* grant and *Jama dami* for Haryana region.

<i>Suba</i>	<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Pargana</i>	<i>Suyurghal</i>	<i>Jama dami</i>	% 4:5
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DELHI	Delhi	Palwal	218,225	1,769,493	12.33
		Jhajjar	306,461	1,422,451	21.54
		Rohtak	428,000	8,599,270	4.97
		Sonepat	775,105	7,727,323	10.00
		Safedon	99,347	1,975,596	5.02
		Karnal	207,999	5,678,242	3.66
		Ganaur	33,390	1,718,792	1.94
		Kharkhaun -da	4,958	1,105,856	0.44
		Mandhauti	2,934	2,858,223	0.10
		Panipat	3,540, 632	10,756,647	32.91
		Islamabad Pakal	31,462	1,779,407	1.76
		Beri Dobladhan		1,404,225	—
		Dadri	118,577	4,326,059	2.74
TOTAL			5,767,090	51,121,584	11.28

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DELHI	Rewari	Bawal	16,274	4,114,753	0.39
		Pataudi	5,260	2,270,080	0.23
		Bhoharah	345	775,543	0.04
		Taoru	11,573	986,228	1.17
		Rewari	404,100	11,906,847	3.39
		Ghelot	—	656,688	—
		Kohana	—	421,440	—
		Sohana	150,563	3,928,364	3.83
Total			588,113	25,059,943	2.34
DELHI	Hissar-i-Firuza	Agroha	6,654	1,743,970	0.38
		Ahroni	160,038	857,357	18.66
		Atkhera	—	1,576,200	—
		Bhangiwal	—	1,800,000	—
		Baharangi	—	880,832	—
		Barwala	109,052	1,097,807	9.93
		Bhatu	—	440,280	—
		Barwa	—	64,680	—
		Tohana	150,680	4,694,354	3.20
		Tosham	2,686	1,068,548	0.25
		Jind	123,080	5,401,749	2.27

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DELHI	Hissar-i-Firuza	Jamalpur	81,461	4,227,261	1.90
		Hissar	183,879	4,039,895	4.55
		Dhatart	45,556	978,027	4.65
		Sirsa	163,104	4,361,368	3.73
		Siron	—	400,000	—
		Sewani	—	76,750	—
		Shahanzadah dihat	12,586	960,111	1.31
		Fatahabad	81,867	1,184,392	6.91
		Gohana	16,146	2,876,115	0.56
		Khanda	47,978	1,119,364	4.28
		Mahim/Maham	84,202	4,958,613	1.69
		Hansi	130,056	5,434,438	2.39
Total			1,399,025	50,242,111	2.78
DELHI	Sirhind	Ambala	321,488	4,198,094	7.65
		Thanesar	2,069,841	7,850,803	26.36
		Khizrabad	528,170	12,059,918	4.37
		Sadhaura	273,265	4,298,064	6.35
		Shahabad	761,587	6,751,468	11.28
		Kaithal	309,146	10,638,630	2.90
		Ghuram	1,058,982	6,138,630	17.25
		Dorala	86,710	2,188,443	3.96
		Pundri	47,152	686,870	6.86
		Mustafabad	570,976	7,496,691	7.61
		Hapari	—	1,145,118	—
Total			6,027,317	63,452,729	9.49

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
AGRA	Tijara	Indri	26,096	1,995,216	1.30
		Ujina	22,796	428,347	5.32
		Umra Umri	—	307,037	—
		Bisru	5,354	215,800	2.48
		Khanpur	—	195,620	—
		Firuzpur	69,044	3,042,642	2.26
		Ghasera	—	330,076	—
		Kotla	7,017	1,552,196	0.45
		Nagina	3,572	377,257	0.94
		Pur	1,559	540,645	0.29
		Pinanjwan	34,312	1,329,350	2.58
		Jhimrawat	31,283	496,202	6.30
		Sakras	50,411	460,088	11.0
		Santadhari	267,470	406,811	65.7
		Total		518,914	11,677,287	4.44
AGRA	Alwar	Bajherah	—	104,890	—
		Kohari Rana	96,919	4,359,272	2.22
		Kohrana	—	166,666	—
		Mubarikpur	—	514,193	—
Total		96,919	5,145,021	1.88	
AGRA	Narnaul	Chal Kalinah	50,164	7,744,027	0.64
		Kanauda	91,577	4,356,189	2.10
		Khodana	—	808,109	—
		Narnaul	5,49,161	5,913,228	9.28
		Narhar	29,405	4,262,837	0.68
Total		720,307	23,084,390	3.12	
AGRA	Sahar	Bandhauri	6,840	441,840	1.54
		Hodal	33,140	462,710	7.16
Total		39,980	904,550	4.41	
Grand	Total		15,157,662	230,687,615	6.58

Source : *Ain-i Akbari*, I, pp. 453-55, 518-20, 525-27; (tr.) pp. 203-06, 291-93, 298-301.

APPENDIX — V C

Table showing retainers of various traditional and non- traditional cultivating castes of Haryana region.

<i>Suba</i>	<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Pargana</i>	<i>Zamindar</i>	<i>Cavalry</i>	<i>Infantry</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DELHI	Delhi	Rohtak	Jat	100	2000
		Sonepat	Afghan , Jat	70	1000
		Safedon	Rajput, Jat	60	6000
		Kharkhaunda	Afghan, Jat	50	600
		Mandhauti	Jat	30	500
	Rewari	Bawal	Rajput, Ahir	100	2001
		Pataudi	Rajput, Ahir	50	500
		Rewari	Thathar, Ahir, Jat	400	2000
	Hissar- i- Firuza	Agroha	Jatu, Jat	200	2000
		Ahroni	Gujar, Jat	100	1000
		Atkhera	Jat, Tonwar	200	2000
		Bhangiwal	Rajput, Rathor, Jat	200	2000
		Puniya	Jat	150	8000
		Baharangi	Rajput, Rathor	200	2000
		Bhatu	Jat	50	1000
		Barwa	Jatu, Jat	25	300
		Tosham	Rathor, Rajput, Jat	200	1000
		Jind	Salar, Rajput, Jatu	500	4000

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DELHI	Hissar- i-Firuz	Jamalpur	Tonwar, Jat	700	400
		Hissar	Jatu, Ranghar, Seron	500	2000
		Dhatart	Jat, Afghan	100	2000
		Siron	Jat, Seron	100	1000
		Sidhmukh	Rajput, Rathor, Jat	50	1000
		Fatahabad	Rajput, Rathor, Gujar, Jat	200	3000
		Gohana	Jat, Dadblalsa, Dhund (?)	300	3000
		Khanda	Jat, Gadi	100	2000
		Sewani	Rajput, Jatu	100	1000
		Hansi	Rajput, Multani, Jatu, Jat	500	7000
		Mahim/ Maham	Rajput, Tonwar, Jat	700	2000
	Sirhind	Thanesar	Rajput, Multani, Jatu, Jat	50	1500
		Khizrabad	Ranghar, Jat	200	3000
		Guhram	Bhatti, Jat	50	100
AGRA	Narnaul	Chal	Jat	200	5000
		Kalinah			
		Khodana	Jat	20	700
	Sahar	Bandhauli	Jat&c	200	2000
		Sahar	Jat, Bakkal, Gujar	200	7000
		Kamah	Meo, Jat, Ahir	10	300
		Koh	Meo, Jat	4	200
		Mujahid			
		Hodal	Jat & c	10	200
GRAND TOTAL				4,979	82,301

Source: *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 453-55, 518-20, 525-27; and (tr.), II, pp. 203-06, 291-93, 298-301.

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